2537

VIEW

OF THE

MILITARY FORCE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

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OF THE

HISTORY AND ACTUAL STATE

OF THE

MILITARY FORCE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BY

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TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES,
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TRANSLATOR'S ADVERTISEMENT.

THIRTY years ago, no foreigner, however liberal and enlightened he might have been, would have attributed to the English nation any of that glory which springs from the possession of military science. The qualities of courage and firmness were all that he would have ascribed to us. But the conclusion of the wars, that arose from the French Revolution, at length forced the mind to the opinion, that some mighty change had taken place in the fabric and constitution of the British army. Deeds had been achieved beyond the prowess of mere physical strength, and a people, making military excellence their highest

boast, had been worsted by a nation whose insular situation, and whose moral and political character could not favor the genius of conquest. War had been considered an intellectual struggle, and the solid wisdom of the English people had triumphed over the quickness and dexterity of the French. For an explanation of this problem, the government of France, a few years since, dispatched to this country a gentleman, who was at once a public officer and a man of letters, a member of as many literary institutions as martial orders. We felt the compliment, and we received him well. We concealed nothing. We did not seek to overawe M. Dupin by affecting Egyptian mysteriousness. We met him in the spirit of liberal communication; and, if any thing like selfishness mingled itself with our feelings, it was the pardonable thought, that if, by the introduction of our improvements into any other country, the

people of that country should be enlightened, such a circumstance would act as a spur to our intellectual energy, to maintain the superiority of the British mind. As M. Dupin travelled for the benefit of the French nation, he committed to the press the results of his observations on, and his inquiries into, the internal state of our army. His work, consisting of two quarto volumes, written of course in the French language, was printed at Paris, in the year 1820. It immediately attracted the notice of our Reviews. They pronounced the author to be a discerning and intelligent man. They were astonished at the immense body of valuable information, not hitherto collected by any individual, which he now gave to the world, and there was no little pleasure in reading the unexpected and unpurchased tributes of applause which the writer, though the representative of the vainest nation of Europe, continually

poured forth in honor of this country. The work has been criticised generally, but not analyzed; and, perhaps, no journal could afford space for a copious account of the multifarious contents of the book. But the British public has anxiously inquired for the details of that knowledge which was so liberally opened to the inquisitive foreigner, and to meet the wish for an acquaintance with so important a branch of statistics, the present version has been prepared. The translator has occasionally commented on the opinions, and corrected the trifling inaccuracies of the author; and he has performed the more useful office of retrenching the superfluous declamation, and condensing the style of his original. M. Dupin's loquacity has been reduced from two quartos to two octavos.

The commendations of our critical journals prevent all necessity in the translator of proving that the Frenchman is the au-

thor of a "*liber aureus.*" That the book is not interesting to the military man only, is evident from the notice that it has met with from writers who reject all matter that wears no pleasing aspect; and, indeed, the feeling of liberal curiosity ought not to dwell in the breast of a Frenchman only, to view the machinery behind the stage of the theatre of war; to trace actions to their causes, and read the events at Salamanca, at Vittoria, and at Waterloo, not merely in the page of the annalist, but in the constitution and character of the British army.

August, 1821.

thor of a "*liber curens*." That the book is not interesting to the military man only, is evident from the notice that it has met with from writers who reject all matter that wears no pleasing aspect; and, indeed, the feeling of liberal curiosity ought not to dwell in [illegible] of a [illegible] only, but view the machinery behind the stage of the theatre of war; [illegible] actions to their causes; [illegible] at Vittoria, and at Waterloo, not merely in the page of the annalist, but in the [illegible] [illegible] of the British army.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE ARMY.

BOOK I.

OF THE ROYAL AND LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY IN ITS CONNECTION WITH THE ARMY.

CHAPTER I.

Relations of the Sovereign to the Military Force.

By the constitution of Great Britain, the Sovereign is vested with the supreme military authority. His orders, and his alone, are to be obeyed, as long as they are in unison with the fundamental laws of the empire. Beyond this, obedience itself would be deemed treason to the state: whatever were the rank or station of the offender, he would be dragged before the tribunals of the country, and might in vain plead the commands of superiors to arrest the judgment of the law. The punishment of the immediate instrument of violence or oppression is the first care of justice; but her vengeance is afterwards made to pursue in succession the authors of the guilt, until it reach the most

elevated. It is thus that the British have at once been a conquering and a free people.

The restraints upon the royal authority extend not to the foreign relations of Great Britain; to other powers the sovereign is known only as the delegate or representative of the nation. He has the sole province of declaring war, or concluding peace, and of determining the conditions of both. But a treaty, to be binding upon the people of England, must be signed by a minister, who, in giving his name to the act, becomes responsible to the country with his head for the preservation of the national honor and the public interests.

By his acknowledged rights, the King can grant subsidies to his allies or indemnities to his enemies. But he cannot order the payment of these indemnities, nor of these subsidies, unless the parliament has voted the taxes by which they are to be defrayed. Although he is at liberty to commence hostilities, or to retard the conclusion of peace, he can never long continue a war which is disapproved by the nation. The sovereign, since the settlement of the British constitution at the memorable epoch of 1688, has entirely lost the power of augmenting, as he chooses, the number of his troops, and arbitrarily taxing the citizens for their support; but he has the supreme com-

mand of the army, and their organization is dependant on his will. All employments, all promotions, all military honors, emanate from his power: every thing proceeds from him, but directly by him nothing is done. It is thus that his person is inviolable; "the King can do no wrong," because he can do nothing of himself.

The orders of the prince, whatever they may be, become efficient only when countersigned by a responsible minister, who is the accountable medium of communication between the sovereign and the public force. Let us trace the legal process by which the supreme authority is transmitted from the prince to the directors of that force.

It is in the council of responsible ministers, termed the CABINET, that all the measures, all the acts of this authority are first decided upon. THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR AND COLONIES, who is a member of the cabinet, is charged with issuing general instructions for the levying and disbanding of troops, and for the formation and direction of military expeditions.

A COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF of the land forces of the British empire is charged with the execution of these instructions for all operations confined to Great Britain. He is specially en-

trusted with the organization, instruction, and discipline of the army.

The foreign possessions of England are divided into provinces, in the manner of the proconsulates of old Rome. Their defence is confided to civil and military governors, who, in the latter capacity, under the title of *Commanders of the Forces*, receive the orders of the Commander-in-Chief with respect to the discipline and organization of the troops.

The Secretary of State for the Home Department, a member of the cabinet, has the superintendance of the training and service of the local militia, or national guards.

A minister, not of the cabinet, is charged with the administration of war, and takes the title of Secretary of War; and, lastly, the Master General of the Ordnance, who is a cabinet minister, directs the *personnel* and *matériel* of the artillery and engineer service.

It was necessary to enter into the detail of these definitions before we proceed to consider the relations of the parliament to the army. We shall afterwards treat in succession of the functions confided to the Minister of War and Colonies, to the Commander-in-Chief, to the Home Secretary, to the Secretary at War, and to the Master-General of the Ordnance.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Army in its connection with the Parliament.—Military Penal Code.—National Rewards ordained by the Parliament and by the Sovereign.

The sovereign power of the British nation is exercised in plenitude by the parliament of the United Kingdom, and without its authority no military force can be levied or maintained.

The same wise principle, which leads the parliament to vote the supplies for the exigencies of government for but one year at a time, has induced the legislature to set like bounds to the power, with which they entrust the executive, of maintaining an army on foot. The act itself, which yearly invests the government with this authority, opens with an express recognition of the rights of parliament over the military force; fixes the number of men whom the sovereign may retain or summon under his colours; and, finally, establishes the principles of criminal jurisprudence to which it is necessary to subject the soldier. The following is the preamble of that important enactment, which is known under the denomination of the Mutiny Act, and which we may designate as the military law.

"Whereas the raising or keeping a standing

army within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of parliament, is against law;* and whereas it is judged necessary by His Majesty, and this present parliament, that a body of forces should be continued for the safety of the United Kingdom, the defence of the possessions of His Majesty's crown, and the preservation of the balance of power in Europe, and that the whole number of such forces should consist (for 1819) of 81,841 effective officers and men; adding thereto 12,276 officers and men to be disbanded in the course of the year; and whereas no man can be forejudged of life or limb, or subjected, in time of peace, to any kind of punishment within this realm, by martial law, or in any other manner than by the judgment of his peers, and according to the known and established laws of this realm; yet nevertheless, it being requisite, for the retaining all the before-mentioned forces in their duty, that an exact discipline be observed, and that soldiers who shall mutiny or stir up sedition, or shall desert His Majesty's service, be brought

* This political axiom is one of those established by the "Bill of Rights," and it is the language of the fifth article of that bill which opens the Mutiny Act: 5. *The raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of parliament*, IS AGAINST LAW.—*Author.*

to a more exemplary and speedy punishment than the usual forms of the law will allow: be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, BY AND WITH THE ADVICE AND CONSENT OF THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL, AND COMMONS, IN THIS PRESENT PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED, that every person, who is or shall be commissioned or in pay as an officer, or who is and shall be listed or in pay as a non-commissioned officer or soldier, shall, during the continuance of this act, be subjected to the military law explained therein," &c. &c.

This law, of which we have explained the nature and duration, is worthy in all respects of the deep attention of the citizens and representatives of every state regulated under constitutional forms.

It, in the first place, determines the nature and extent of the punishments* which can be inflicted upon the military citizen. In certain cases it is left to the discretion of the judges to mitigate the penalties, according to the circumstances of extenuation in the guilt of offenders. It grants to the King, for the period of one year, the power, 1st, to convoke courts-martial† ac-

* These consist in death, transportation for life, or for a limited period, branding, and corporal punishment.—*Author.*

† There are general courts-martial for Great Britain, Ireland, and the transmarine possessions; their judgment is without

cording to the forms which it establishes; 2dly, to compile the regulations known under the name of "The Articles of War," for the maintenance of discipline in the army; and to ordain by these rules, with regard to crimes not specified by the military law, every penalty not reaching to sentence of death or mutilation. An unbounded authority! and utterly incompatible with the government of a free people, if the general liberty, if the moderation of the sovereign and his ministry did not combine to restrain in practice the latitude of an arbitrary power, which is the more formidable, as it has the sanction of the law. But, by how many salutary regulations does not this law atone for a concession which oversteps the bounds of freedom?

The Mutiny Bill fixes the number and form

appeal, and without other relief than the pardon of the sovereign. The King very frequently commutes the sentence of death for transportation.

There are, besides, regimental courts-martial for the discipline of every corps: these can neither condemn to loss of life nor limb, and there is an appeal from their sentence to a general court-martial. A royal officer, under the name of Judge Advocate, fills the office of reporter to every court-martial. A Judge Advocate General, resident in London, is the keeper of the records of every trial by court-martial. The law-officer who holds this important station is usually a member of the House of Commons.—*Author.*

of military musters, and specifies the penalties to be incurred for offences on this subject, against either the soldier or the state. It forbids, under heavy penalties, any deduction from the pay of the troops, by paymasters, agents, or officers, except as prescribed by regulation.

It secures to every citizen who may be surprized into enlistment, a ready method of recovering his liberty; but it also exacts from such as consent to bear arms for their country, an oath of allegiance, of which the form is laid down.

It regulates the reward for the apprehension of deserters; and determines the mode of quartering the military, which is only chargeable upon publicans, in conformity to the celebrated "Petition of Right," regarded by the English as one of the foundations of their liberty.

The law descends to minute particularity, to secure to the soldier on his march, a lodging on the publican, and diet at once economical, abundant, and wholesome; it also provides the requisite means of ensuring the immediate payment of the remuneration due from the officer and soldier. It further determines the mode in which the citizen is to proceed for the recovery of debts incurred by the military.

The manner of requisition and payment for carriages for the transport of military baggage,

are fixed with an exactitude and equity no less scrupulous.

Finally, among these important guarantees, let us not forget that admirable article which forbids every military officer, under pain of twenty pounds sterling of damages, from forcibly entering any house without the warrant of a justice of peace, who cannot himself grant such an order unless under circumstances expressly pointed out. Such are the measures by which the legislator has reduced into practice, that axiom of British liberty, that " the house of an Englishman is his castle."

There are doubtless some articles of the military law which might be more favourable to the dignity of the soldier, to liberty, and, above all, to humanity. There might be less latitude to certain arbitrary powers which are left to the crown, of proportioning punishment to crime. But the fundamental bases of the legislative authority are planted with the greatest wisdom. The martial law determines with equity, in innumerable cases of importance, the rights and reciprocal duties of the prince and the army, the soldier and the citizen, the officer and the sentinel.

How would it rejoice me to behold a military code, established in the same spirit of prudence and liberality, for the annual government of the

French army; a code to remind the officer and the soldier that they carry the sword and the musquet but at the command of their country, and to protect the life, the property, the liberty of the citizen!

After any great military exploit, the parliament and the sovereign hasten to bestow upon the generals, the officers, and soldiers, their testimony of the nation's admiration and gratitude.

Monuments to the heroes who have fallen on the field of battle, honors and provision for their families, votes of thanks by the parliament addressed to the victorious army; titles, decorations, granted by the prince to the skill and valor of the surviving generals,—these are the brilliant offerings of the gratitude of a free people.

We will instance a memorable occasion of the manner in which the legislative and executive powers concur in dispensing these glorious tributes.

On the 21st of March, 1801, General Abercromby was killed in fighting at the head of his troops on the shores of the bay of Aboukir; and on the 18th of May, the House of Commons voted an unanimous address to the King, praying him to command the erection of a monument, in the Cathedral of St. Paul, to the memory of the Right Honorable Sir Ralph

Abercromby, Lieutenant General, commanding in Chief His Majesty's Forces, in the expedition to the coast of Egypt; "to the memory of that General," said the address, "who, on the 21st of March, 1801, received a mortal wound, and who remained upon the field of battle, directing by his orders, inspiring by his presence, the brave troops under his command, up to the moment of their gaining the important and brilliant victory of that memorable day." The address concluded by assuring His Majesty that the House would hasten to provide the funds for the erection of the monument.

In the same session the House unanimously voted their thanks to Major-General John Hely Hutchinson, the second in command; and to the other major-generals and different officers of the army, for their conduct in Egypt, and particularly in the battle of the 21st of March.

The House further resolved, that they highly approved of the regularity, discipline, coolness, and valor so conspicuously displayed by the non-commissioned officers and soldiers serving under the orders of the late General Sir Ralph Abercromby, in the memorable and brilliant operations of the army in Egypt. The House decreed that this resolution should be signified to the troops, by the commanding officers of corps, who were requested to thank them, in

the name of the Commons of Great Britain, for their exemplary and distinguished conduct.

Finally, the House directed that the Speaker should communicate these resolutions to the Honorable Major-General J. E. Hutchinson, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Egypt, to be by him transmitted to the generals and officers to whom they related.

On the 20th of May the King caused his reply to be made to the House of Commons, that he would give orders for the erection of the monument to Abercromby; on the same day he sent a message to the House, inviting them to concur in a provision for the family of that hero. His Majesty proposed to bestow the title of baroness upon the widow of the general, with reversion of the peerage to his children, and that she should enjoy a pension of £2000 per annum, to descend to the two next heirs in the male line. On the following day the House of Commons, having gone into a committee of supply, voted that they would provide for the charges of the proposed pension to the family of Abercromby. We may observe, in these different testimonies of the public gratitude, with what wisdom they are divided into the acts of the sovereign and those of the representatives of the people.

It is the parliament that declares, in the

name of the British people, that the generals, officers, and soldiers have deserved well of their country. The Speaker himself of the House of Commons transmits to the General-in-Chief the vote of thanks which the legislative body addresses to the army. A monument is to be erected to the memory of a hero; the parliament expresses the wish for it; communicates that wish to the monarch; the supreme head of the executive determines that he will comply with the desire of the people.

The sovereign, as the source of all honor, bestows a peerage upon the descendants of General Abercromby; but he is desirous of accompanying the dignity with an annual stipend, and he applies to the House of Commons, who alone have the power of imposing new expenses on the country; the House accede to the wish of the King.

We here view the parliament of England, as dignified, as generous as the Roman senate, granting to the warriors who had merited the applause of their country, honors worthy of a great people. But impartiality obliges us to add, that the parliament have more than once sullied the lustre of their praise, by lavishing rewards, that should be reserved for deeds of immortal splendor, upon occasions the most trivial, sometimes the most disgraceful. Upon the em-

bodying of the volunteers of Great Britain and Ireland, to repel the meditated invasion of the French Consular government, the parliament voted their thanks to men who had merely enrolled themselves for the common defence; and who thus, without a single exploit, without encountering a single danger, were permitted to usurp an honor which, up to that moment, had been regarded as the peculiar reward of the most brilliant achievements. And, after the unsuccessful result of the expedition to Walcheren, the parliament decreed that the fleet and the army had deserved well of Great Britain, when they ought to have condemned to the severest punishment the general who dared not advance from his landing-place to the walls of Antwerp, and the admiral who had neglected his opportunity of ascending the Scheldt. Whatever might have been the courage and constancy of the troops, if the honors of success were to follow their repulse, how was it reserved to welcome them on future occasions of victory?

CHAPTER III.

Parliamentary Accounts of the Army.—Of the Budget.

I COMPREHEND, under this title, the annual accounts laid before parliament by the Secretary at War, and by the Paymaster-General of the Forces, as well as the examination of those accounts by special committees.

The whole government is in a manner passed in review by the parliament on the presentation of the budget, and the ministry of war becomes the object of particular attention. By discussion, and yet more by the results of inquiry, light is then thrown upon a crowd of details which, in their perfection or inefficiency, have so material an influence upon the condition of an army. The military expenses are divided into two distinct and separate heads, ordinary and extraordinary.

The fixed appointments of the whole *personnel* of the army, the fixed charges for the public offices and troops, in a word, all disbursements that can be determined before-hand, enter into the budget of ordinary expenses. This budget is termed "The Estimates of Army Services for the Year;" it is laid before parliament at the

commencement of every year, and the charges contained in it are voted by anticipation.

To give an idea of the regularity of this part of the operations of government, it will be sufficient to observe, that in this year (1819) the session opened on the 14th of January; the administering of the oaths to the members occupied the time until the 22d of the same month, and, notwithstanding, on the 29th, the budget of army estimates had been laid before the House, and ordered to be printed.

In this budget the national troops are constantly distinguished from the foreign corps; the maintenance of the latter forms a separate chapter, and parliament is consequently always enabled to withhold the vote for their pay whenever it is judged that the support or levy of these forces is contrary to the public interests. This is a point which we should do well to imitate in our budget in France.

Not only are the totals of the expense of every head in the estimates given separately, but even the individual appointments, and all the appurtenances which belong to each, are exposed in such detail, that there is no person whatever in the army who is not represented as an unity of the estimates, both in the numerical recital of military of all ranks and degrees, and

in this or that class of pay, the amounts of which are stated in the budget.

The Paymaster General of the land forces submits to the House of Commons a statement of the extraordinary expenses which have been incurred in the last year. This statement contains an enumeration of all sums disbursed for purposes not foreseen when the regular estimates for the preceding year were prepared. The station or place where such payments were made is first mentioned, and then the name and rank of every person receiving the same, and the nature of the services for which they were granted; with, of course, the several amounts of monies so issued. The whole return is closed with striking a balance between the debts prior to this expenditure with the expenditure itself, and the credits prior to the present settlement, together with the vote of credit of the session.

These details are, I am aware, tedious and dry, but they are indispensably necessary in proving with what care, what punctuality, what publicity, the accounts of the British army are examined by the legislature. Thanks to such details the parliament is always in condition to judge of the nature and extent of expense proposed by the government. As the printing of the budgets, with their principal ex-

planations, is always ordered, as well as the reports of committees upon these budgets, it follows that the whole of the representatives of the nation have the means of forming a correct idea of the expenses of each year, and of comparing them with those of former periods both of peace and war. Members of parliament acquire, in this manner, information of the utmost value upon the statistical points of the force and government of the army. The accounts, too, are regulated upon well-known and acknowledged principles, by which a number of incoherent discussions are avoided, and much facility afforded to the progress and regularity of affairs. When any abuse or unnecessary charge has grown to a height to attract the attention of parliament to its reform, it is ordered by the House of Commons, that whatever documents can throw light upon the nature of the expense, shall be laid on their table for the information of all the members, or of a committee of inquiry; and these papers are in general ordered to be printed.

It was thus, in the late session, that the House of Commons caused the Secretary at War to lay before them all the returns relative to the management of the Store Keeper General's department.

During a period of warfare, the ministry will

frequently declare, to avoid an inquiry of difficulty at the moment, that the interest of the state requires a temporary secrecy upon particular operations; in which case, the inquiry is postponed to a more convenient occasion. But, as soon as the pretext of existing circumstances can no longer cover the responsibility of ministers, they are required to produce the accounts which they had before objected to publish. Thus, on one hand, the ministry are never arrested in the march of their operations, while the public interest is at stake; on the other, their responsibility is but suspended for the moment, to rest on them the more heavily.

In 1797, a select committee of finance was charged with an inquiry into the expense of the different branches of the public administration, and with the office of proposing such reforms as might appear to be practicable. This committee, in its twenty-second report, took under particular consideration, the augmentation and decrease of the salaries of persons in government employ; and conceived the design of an annual commission for the purpose of arresting the indefinite growth of abuses, in the different public offices. The proposal of the committee was submitted to parliament in the following terms:—

"It would be a great step towards economy,

if parliament should think proper to require annual accounts of every augmentation and diminution, which had taken place in the course of the preceding year, in salaries, emoluments, or perquisites, and in the expenses of all public offices."—(*Military Inquiry.*)

This proposition was received with the attention it deserved. The parliament sanctioned its adoption, and the government could not deny that it was indispensably requisite; let us trace its execution.

Separate returns, from every branch of the administration, are annually laid before the House of Commons, showing, in comparison with those of the foregoing year, the increase and diminutions which have arisen in the expenditure of government.

All new employments, with the appointments and emolument sattached to them, all augmentations of salaries, from promotion or length of service, all reductions of pay, all retirements, and pensions on withdrawing from active service; lastly, the probable difference in the expense in public offices, of fuel, lights, &c. under the head of contingencies, are contained in these returns. The increase of expense is carried altogether to one column, the decrease to another. At the same time, the causes of every variation in charge are explained, and the

warrants for the same specified, opposite to the sums enumerated. At the foot of these returns is an abstract of the result, showing the total saving or otherwise which has been occasioned under the distinct heads of salaries, emoluments, pensions and contingencies; and these abstracts, from the different departments of state, are again resolved into one general view of the grand total of variation in the national expenditure. The collection of all the comparative returns, forms a volume in folio, which is annually published, with the other papers of the House of Commons.

Through this publication, every member of the House of Commons can form a correct idea of the economy or extravagance manifested by the different branches of the government; and, on the discussion of the budget, can demand, from certain documents, the reform of abuses as they arise, or are detected.

Notwithstanding the precision and regularity of these accounts, an administration may, doubtless, still discover methods of augmenting real expense, and of veiling such increase. Under the various forms of apparent utility, of praiseworthy liberality, or of merited reward, the rapacity of subaltern agents may sometimes deceive the directors of the principal departments, and with them, the great council of the

nation. But with all these intrigues of office, what an enormous difference can we not observe between the progressive and silent abuses which creep into the complicated forms of a representative government, and the unresisted torrent of corruption which flows in the channels of despotism!

Protected by the forms of a constitutional system, the government of Great Britain was enabled to continue, to the close of the last century, one of the most powerful, the richest, and, above all, the most economical of Europe. But the bloody wars, for which the French Revolution afforded the pretexts, insensibly produced changes in the administration of the British affairs, of which it is difficult for other nations to form an adequate idea. It was principally towards the close of the last war that these changes arose. At that epoch, England was the arsenal, the treasury, and the cabinet of the coalition against France, which terminated in embracing the whole of Europe. All the branches of the English government were overloaded with business, and the multiplication of subordinate offices was unavoidable. The heads of departments had larger sums to manage, a more extended correspondence to maintain, a more delicate machine to direct,

and all this under circumstances which increased in difficulty. It appeared natural and just to augment the salaries of men whose zealous services became more and more important to the state, and peace alone could set limits to the growth of expenditure.

The year which followed the pacification of 1815, entirely altered the face of affairs. The stagnation of commerce and manufactures, the constrained idleness of immense numbers of workmen of all descriptions, of disbanded soldiers and sailors, the misery of these classes aggravated by the scarcity of that season; the clamours, the meetings, the conspiracies of the populace; all these causes obliged the government to apply itself with earnestness to the means of alleviating the public burthens, which had increased beyond measure by the accumulation of the national debt, and the enlargement of the different branches of administration.

Lord Castlereagh, therefore, moved in the House of Commons for the appointment of a select committee of finance, to consider the expenditure of the year, and propose, in reports, as their labors proceeded, such measures as could be adopted for relieving the nation from a portion of their burthens without injury to the public service. He, at the same time,

formally announced the intention of government to introduce every practicable economy into the different offices of state.

This committee was composed of the leading members of the ministry and opposition. The majority was, it is true, on the ministerial side, and the operations of the committee were consequently carried on in a spirit favorable to the executive power. Perhaps they did not all which was demanded by the state of the finances and the distress of the period: but let us be just to their labours; they were the source of a number of important reductions, and if their reforming hand did not at the first stroke prune away all excrescences, they at least lopped off the principal ones, and facilitated the same operation in subsequent years. In comparing their reports, (of which there were all together eleven,) in the two sessions of 1817 and 1818; in the first will be found the proposition of measures of utility, and in the second, the means employed by the ministry to execute their recommendations. In explanation, I shall confine myself to the recital of a few articles relative to the War Office, and give them literally.

WAR-OFFICE, *Feb.* 14, 1818.

Reductions recommended in the Report of the Finance Committee of 1817.	*Notice of what has been done in consequence of such recommendation.*
Extraordinary gratuities for making up the Estimates.	Discontinued.
Number of Messengers.	Ten have been reduced in the course of 1817.
Revision of the scale of official salaries.	All progressive increase of salary, to persons promoted to a higher class, has been suspended, until a general revision can be made of the rates of pay in the offices.

Let us stop at these extracts, and observe with what correctness the abuses and the vices of administration are pointed out, acknowledged, and suppressed. It doubtless is not without opposition, that the public good and the truth end by triumphing in this manner. But, under parliamentary forms, there is no proposition favorable to the public service which cannot be submitted for the assent of the whole nation; strengthened by popular opinion, by the eloquence of orators and the talent of writers, the proposition gradually becomes of more weight, and is finally adopted.

The greatest impediments to the progress of improvement are occasioned by the self-love and other passions of men, which enter into all their actions, even into those that are most honorable. The opposition cannot be satisfied

with proving the wisdom of the measures which they propose; they must go farther, and, above all things, must strive to demonstrate that the ministry are at the pinnacle of folly. On the other hand, the ministry, confident in their exclusive knowledge of the detail and general conduct of affairs, blinded by an opinion of their power, and by the intoxication of their greatness, repulse with disdain and contempt assaults that are too frequently made without consideration, return, where they can, blow for blow, and, if they discover the weakness of their arms, intrench themselves behind the ramparts of prerogative or state reason.

It is, therefore, seldom that reforms in administration are the immediate consequence of public discussion. It may almost be said, that the English ministry have laid it down as a maxim never to appear to yield to the reasoning of their adversaries, whether conclusive or not. But, in the private labors of committees, where the causes and effects of all measures can be examined at leisure, and discussed with calmness, the ministry willingly lend themselves to useful suggestions; the good is worked in silence, and the public enjoy the fruits. It is a fact highly honorable to the British government, that the most important ameliorations in the conduct of military admi-

nistration took place during a war, which, by the grandeur and multiplicity of its events, might be supposed to have engrossed the undivided attention of ministers. We may here again trace the advantagesof a representative government, and shall proceed to show the extent of the benefit in this instance.

In 1805, an act of parliament instituted the Commission of Military Inquiry to examine into the expenses and control the operations of military departments ; to bring into view both the ameliorations already effected in the different offices, and the abuses of long standing or recent date which had been introduced and developed therein, either suddenly, or by insensible degrees ; and lastly, to throw as much light as possible upon the means of causing such abuses to disappear, and of rendering the progress of affairs at once more simple, rapid, and economical.

The commissioners were invested with powers of extreme latitude: they received authority to compel to appear before them, and to interrogate *upon oath*, all persons employed in the military departments of the state, without exception of rank or degree ; and it was further enjoined to all the ministerial offices to communicate to the commissioners whatever acts, warrants, authorized orders, or other documents

could tend to instruct them upon the legality and utility of the operations of government, particularly where any innovations had been made. It was in the month of August 1805, that the operations of the commission began, and they continued without intermission until 1812. In that lapse of time there were successively presented to the House of Commons nineteen reports, which were printed, for the use of the members only, by resolutions passed at different epochs. This immense work, accompanied by its supporting documents, states of receipt and expenditure, official acts, &c. forms a collection of six folio volumes, which are an inexhaustible mine of precious materials for the British government, and for the military historian. We shall endeavour to analyse whatever is most important to our subject in each report, particularly with regard to the authenticity of certain facts, and shall cite our authority wherever it is requisite.

I am aware that heavy charges have been preferred against the Commission of Military Inquiry. It was composed of government agents, who might naturally, in publishing the results of their inquiry, soften the coloring of facts calculated to excite indignation on the subject of long tolerated and crying abuses. Another very important observation is, that all

the interrogatories put by the commissioners with a view of eliciting the truth upon doubtful circumstances were not published; it appears that only a part of them were submitted to parliament. Such concealment, if it was really made with the design of extenuating or covering the truth, was an act of political delinquency, which merited the severest punishment, and could owe its impunity to nothing but the secrecy preserved on the subject for several years.*

But, it may at least be gathered from the very reproaches made against the Commission, that all the abuses which it publicly exposed, or distantly alluded to, existed in the full extent specified in its reports; we have thus a knowledge of the minimum of disorders then suffered in the British government, and certainly this minimum was sufficient to strike every reflecting observer with astonishment. We shall have more than one example to adduce which would seem incredible, if it were not supported by the most authentic evidence.

* See, on this subject, the "Regimental Companion," the author of which has stated several of the questions put by the commissioners of Military Inquiry, and appears to be otherwise very unfavorably disposed towards them. This should prevent our giving full confidence to the reproaches made by this writer against the operations of the Commission.—*Author.*

In those cases, even, wherein there was only a partial exposure of some abuses, we should err in supposing the investigation of the residue as lost. On the contrary, I am persuaded, that this latter portion was the first which there was haste in reforming to prevent subsequent disclosures. A ministry will be at all times anxious that the opposition shall not discover and reproach them with their defects; and when there is reason to dread such exposure, they will at once apply themselves to ward off the scandal, by correcting the evil. Thus, the labors of the Commission of Inquiry were yet more useful than would be concluded from the mere perusal of their reports, without bearing further considerations in mind.

BOOK II.

GOVERNMENT AND COMMAND OF THE FORCES.

CHAPTER I.

Secretary of State for War and Colonies. Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces.

The Secretary of State for war and colonies is, as already observed, one of the principal members of administration. The institution of this office is not of earlier date than the year 1768, that is to say, at the epoch when the disputes between the mother-country and her American colonies began to assume that character of blind oppression and exasperated resistance, which led to the revolt, the confederation, and the independence of the United States.

Great Britain, since this period of her disasters, has applied herself to the government of her colonies with more justice, prudence, and liberality. She at present offers in this respect, an example worthy the imitation of enlightened nations.

It is remarkable enough, that in England,

where the navy is by far more powerful than the army, the government of the colonies is associated with the superintendence and direction of military operations; while, in France, where the maritime authority has much less influence in the government, it is yet entrusted with the command of the colonies. But a sufficient explanation can, I conceive, be given of this apparent political paradox. From the very circumstance that the dominion of the seas is possessed by the British navy, the transport of troops and stores from the mother-country to the colonies becomes merely a secondary object, gained without danger or difficulty. There are not more obstacles to communication between Great Britain and America, than between England and Ireland, and the ministry of war can dispatch succours across the Atlantic and the Irish Channel with equal facility. It is, therefore, natural that the executive power of the army, and the defence of the colonies, should rest in the same hands. But in France, on the contrary, the greatest obstacle to the defence and preservation of the colonies arises from the contingencies of the ocean. If the ministry of the French colonies have not within command all the means of revictualling our transmarine possessions at the proper moment, they must

inevitably sink under the power of the enemy, whatever may be the numbers of the troops by which they are garrisoned.

During the Imperial government, we lost the greater part of our colonies, because the ruler of our affairs, himself a land-commander, chose to direct the defence of the foreign possessions by the principles of his own profession; they were wrested from us by the want of opportune succour.

But there is a reason in existence to determine the English to unite the administration of war and colonies under the same authority, which does not apply to France; the British government is too enlightened to regard its foreign dependencies merely as plantations, farms, or commercial entrepôts. The advantages claimed by the mother-country from the productions of the colonies, and by the direct interchange of merchandize with them, are doubtless sufficiently understood; but in this respect, as in many others, all that is requisite is to suffer affairs to take their own course. The avarice, the enterprize, and the industry of the agriculturists, the merchants, and the seamen of England, may be safely depended upon: all these classes will ask but a single right, and a single favor, liberty at home, and defence

from abroad. The British government views the greater part of the foreign possessions, of which it has retained the political dominion, as advanced posts in preparation to supplant during peace the commerce of rivals, to destroy at need the marine of other nations, and lastly to facilitate invasion of the territories of every people who may become an enemy.

Thus, such possessions as the Antilles, from their murderous climate, their ungrateful soil, and small extent, are far from offering productions which can compensate for the enormous expense of their government and military defence. But these possessions are the bulwark of an extended and profitable navigation; they offer to smugglers invaluable resources for carrying on a contraband trade with the neighbouring establishments of other powers; and this is sufficient to justify their occupation.

Thus, too, the rock of Heligoland at the entrance of the Baltic, the rock of Gibraltar, and that of Malta, the one at the mouth, the other in the centre of the Mediterranean, are establishments burthensome in every way; but they lie at the heart, or in the channels of European navigation, and no expense can be too great which enables the sovereigns of the seas to display their flag on these spots.

The Cape of Good Hope was, for the Dutch, what the Isle of France was to us,—a military station of the greatest importance. These two stations formed, as it were, the military chain of the great Indian navigation. Both these positions have been seized by England; and I doubt whether, if, by a fortunate vengeance, the fleets of their former possessors could carry their victorious flag into the Thames and the Medway, the cabinet of St. James's could be induced to consent to their restoration.

The colonies of England are therefore, for the reasons which have been detailed, under the direction of the minister of war and colonies, who proposes to the sovereign, for his nomination, the governors, and all other officers of the foreign possessions, if not chosen of right by the colonists themselves. The latter, in almost all the Anglo-American provinces, have the happiness to enjoy a representative government, the right of appeal from their governors, the institution of justices of the peace, trial by jury, &c.

Under this system the government, without losing the influence necessary for the guidance of affairs, is enabled to discharge duties alike laborious and difficult, I had almost said impossible, to perform, when the governors and the

governed are separated by a half or a fourth of the extent of the globe.

Let us now consider the ministry of war and colonies in its relation to the British army. It is from the office of the Secretary of State for this department, that all orders are issued direct to the generals in command of expeditions undertaken by the land-forces.

In the instructions given by Lord Castlereagh, who then held the reins of this department, to General Sir John Moore, on his being entrusted with the invasion of Portugal and Spain, it may be observed, that the minister informs the general of the nature and extent of the forces to be confided to him; of the place of their disembarkation; of the resources in provisions, stores, arms, and other military supplies to be immediately provided for him, or held in readiness for his disposal. The minister places no bounds to the demands which may be made by the general in command of the expedition. "Whatever assistance you may demand," say the instructions, "will be transmitted from hence without the slightest delay. Three months' provisions for twenty thousand men shall be embarked in readiness on board vessels prepared to set sail for their transport with all expedition to any point on the coast,

where you *have a doubt* of the sufficiency of the resources of the country. A great part of the flour which is destined for you will be converted into biscuit, to spare the troops the difficulty and inconvenience of baking their bread," &c.

Lastly, the minister imposes no definite plan of operations upon the Commander-in-Chief; he confines himself to notifying the general object of the expedition, and communicating all the information in his power upon the local circumstances of the country to be invaded, without limiting, in any degree, the latitude of his operations, and the responsibility which will devolve on his head as general, vested with discretionary powers.

It will be seen that the duties of the minister of war and colonies have no relation to the technical details of the military service, and are of a nature almost entirely political. The office is therefore rarely confided to a military man; and it is no uncommon circumstance to see a Secretary of State pass from the department of war and colonies to that of foreign affairs, or vice-versâ.

The following is, for 1819, the establishment of the department of war and colonies, together with the charges for the same:—

Secretary of State	£6,000
Under Secretary of State, and nine Clerks	9,532
Private Secretary	300
Housekeeper, Porter and Office keeper	600
Messengers and travelling charges	3,969
Extraordinary Messengers	500
Pensions of Messengers	467
Pensions of an Under Secretary of State, nine Clerks and a Widow	2,616
Officers charged with dispatches	300
Extra Clerks for copying	200
Retired allowances of Officers charged upon the department	890
Poor Rates	150
Charge of labourers	500
Expenses of the office, printing, books, maps, &c.	1,000
Contingencies	828
Total expense	£27,852

If it be recollected that, with regard to the department of war, all the details of the command of the troops, of their discipline and their pay, pertain to the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces and Secretary at War; that with respect to the colonial department, all the operations of the interior administration of the colonies are entrusted, legislative as well as executive, to their local authorities, it may be conceived how the business of the office of state for war and colonies is carried on with so small an establishment.

From the Secretary of State for War and Colonies we pass to the Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces.

The functions of Constable, in the old Eu-

ropean monarchies, were by far too extensive; they erected the power of such a commander-in-chief to a height which was dangerous to the sovereign himself. The greater part of the monarchs of the continent, awakened to the danger of such an authority, entirely abolished the functions of constable; but the kings of Great Britain, having less than other princes to dread, from the power of the land-army, have been content to withdraw from this great military vizier the direct guidance of important military operations, leaving in his charge whatever relates to the organization, instruction, and discipline of the forces.

It is frequently a mere general officer who is vested with this dignity, and as it is not bestowed for life, and may even be kept vacant altogether, of which history affords several examples, it is accompanied with an authority too precarious to entail danger either upon the sovereign or the constitution. Nevertheless, in the spirit of the English monarchy, this high dignity must not be confided to the heir apparent to the crown. It appears, indeed, to enter into the system of government to give no military command to the hereditary successor to the throne. When, on the renewal of hostilities in 1803, the French threatened England with invasion, the Prince of Wales eagerly solicited the honor of commanding the army of defence

which was hastily assembled on the shores of the channel, the ministry replied to him in the name of the King, that His Royal Highness would have the power, in case of danger, to signalize, at the head of his own regiment, his love of his country, and devotion to the person of its monarch, but that it would be contrary to the constitution to give him a general command.

Let us pause a moment upon this wise measure. When, in the anarchy of feudal times, the English constitution was feeble, there was no security for the monarchy but in the valor and military talent of the sovereign, who by force only could maintain himself as the ruler of the turbulent barons. It became then highly expedient for the preservation of the reigning dynasty, to train the presumptive heir to the crown to an early acquaintance with the military art, and the duties of command. Thus was the Black Prince distinguished by his martial qualities above the most warlike barons, and on the field of battle could rival his father in courage, and his king in talents. But, as civilization advanced, it was perceived that the duty of a monarch was rather to watch in the centre of his kingdom, over peace, good order, and justice, than to seek danger and carnage in the tumult of camps. When kings were made prisoners fighting with arms in their hands, and

detained for years in foreign captivity, their states were left in fatal disorder. Their liberty was seldom procured without ransoms ruinous to their people, and conditions dishonorable to their kingdoms. At other times the fall of a king in battle was sufficient for the overthrow of a dynasty, and the usurpation of the throne; such was the conquest of England by William, after the death of Harold on the field of Hastings.

The results of such experience have, fortunately for mankind, in modern times, been the removal of the hereditary prince of the monarchy from the active command of armies. The warlike habits acquired in youth become the passion of maturer years, and the greatest curse, therefore, which can afflict a free people is to be governed by a military king; under his standard it must inevitably follow, either that liberty will be crushed, or that the sovereign himself will perish amid the destruction of a sanguinary revolution.

To these reasons of general application, a more particular one may be applied to the case of England, such as she is as present constituted. The hereditary prince no sooner comes of age than he is immediately released from all dependence; he takes his seat as matter of right in the House of Peers, and

needs not the pleasure of the sovereign to entitle him to that dignity. He may frequently chance to be found in the ranks of opposition, and it will, therefore, be readily conceived that the union of military command with political power might in such case be attended with dangerous consequences. It is not, however, considered that the same obstacles exist to command, in other princes of the royal blood, as in the instance of the eldest son of the reigning sovereign. It is at present the second prince of the blood who holds the chief military command. The Duke of York, who has almost, without interruption, filled the station of Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces for five-and-twenty years, has done much to entitle the English army to claim that rank, to which it seems called by the personal courage, the constancy, and the energy of the national character. Before this prince took the general command, there was no uniformity in the system of exercise of the different regiments; every colonel instructed and manœuvred his corps after his own fancy. When elements of such incoherent nature were assembled for the formation of an army, it will readily be judged to what a degree they were deficient in the power of martial conformity, so necessary to the success of great operations.

The colonels have now ceased to decide, almost arbitrarily, on the choice and promotion of officers. They are at present always consulted; but the claims, the talent, the conduct and services of candidates are consulted also. The corps of officers of the British army is become at once better instructed, and more respectable.

In rendering the situation of Commander-in-Chief independent of a change of ministry, it appears to me that the British government have wisely followed the spirit of the constitution, and the dictates of prudence. Owing to this distinction, if by a sudden transfer of administration, the general plan of military operations is altered, the organization of the army, and all the details which influence the efficiency of regiments, cannot be overthrown by the caprice and vanity of the new ministers. It is the master-piece of the institutions of England, that stability in the system of public service is combined with the power of changing the directors of the executive authority.

If, however, the Commander-in-Chief has done much for the army, it must be confessed that the offices of his department have not held out an example of economy. The following details will evince the gradations by which the public administration of Great Britain, from

being the most economical, has become the most expensive in Europe.

In 1793, when Lord Amherst was Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, his military secretary was only a head clerk with a salary of ten shillings per diem, or £182 per annum. In 1813, in lieu of this clerk at £182 a-year, the Commander-in-Chief had for military secretary a Lieutenant-Colonel in receipt of £2,500 per annum.

In 1794, the total expense of the Commander-in-Chief's office, in salaries and contingencies, amounted only to £1,029 for the year; in 1814, the aggregate of charges was £9,761. Thus, in the lapse of only twenty years, the expenses of a single department had increased ten-fold.

At the end of the eighth report of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry, is to be found a very curious memorial drawn up by the Military Secretary of the Commander-in-Chief, to explain how much the business of the office under his order had multiplied. The petition states that the Military Secretary is obliged to open all letters, to transmit them for information to the different departments to which they relate, to receive all officers upon business for some hours daily, &c.

The business of the Commander-in-Chief's

office is transacted in different departments, of which we shall briefly notice the divisions.

1st *Department—Promotions.*

This office is devoted principally to the commerce of exchanges and sale of military commissions. According to the memorial of the Secretary above alluded to, the total amount of sums given for the purposes of such purchases forms an annual capital of £420,000 sterling. It is particularly on the subject of this vast commerce, that the Secretary is obliged to pass some hours daily with the *buying and selling* officers; and nevertheless his appointment of £2,500 per annum is scarcely one half per cent. upon the capital stated. What courtier would undertake such complicated affairs at so cheap a rate?*

* In supposing that the salary of the Commander-in-Chief's Secretary is beyond proportion to the labour and dignity of the office, our author is under a gross mis-conception: for it is matter of notoriety in military circles, that there is no other official station on the staff of the army, in which close application to business is so much demanded, while, at the same time, the highest respectability of personal character is no less requisite for the general advantage of the service. It is singular that the author should choose to consider the affairs connected with promotion of officers, as almost the sole occupation of the secretary, when he proceeds immediately afterwards to speak of two other departments of the same office, both of them, by his own state-

The Commander-in-Chief is charged with the formation of new corps, the augmentation or reduction, and the disbanding of regiments already in existence, &c. These operations are prepared in the department of promotions. The preparatory *projet* is submitted for the immediate approval of the King, and afterwards transmitted to the War Office, for the regulation of the financial details.

2d Department—Civil and various Affairs.

Although the Commander-in-Chief is neither charged with military accounts, nor the payment of the troops, it is always with reference to his proposal or advice, that the Lords of the Treasury decide upon any innovation of impor-

ment, of primary importance, and involving correspondence of the most confidential nature, all of which is necessarily entrusted to the secretary, under guidance of the Commander-in-Chief. With regard to the department of promotions, the fact is, that the *buying and selling* officers, as the author has termed them, form but a very small proportion of those applicants to whose well-founded or imaginary claims for preferment, it is the duty of the Military Secretary to give daily attention and audience, with a view to their being afterwards submitted to higher authority. It is indispensable that the secretary should be an officer of rank, as he must be of trust and responsibility; and, looking to the usual scale of official salaries in the departments of government, it can scarcely be considered that he is at all overpaid.—*Tr.*

tance, or upon extraordinary claims. A board of General Officers, which reports upon its labours to the Commander-in-Chief, is established to take cognizance of all claims of officers and widows, for loss of baggage in the field, or at sea, for pensions and remunerations, &c. The Commander-in-Chief transmits the decisions of this commission to the Lords of the Treasury, who then determine upon the sums to be paid by Government, and order the several payments to be registered at the War-Office, and discharged by the Paymaster-General. It is an invariable rule, that all demands for indemnities or particular gratuities, which are not provided for by fixed regulation, are to be referred to the Lords of the Treasury.

The connection of the military with the civil power is maintained between the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

The volunteer force, which in certain respects resembles our national guard, is under the orders of the Home Secretary of State. But, in the event of danger of invasion, the volunteers are placed at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief, and associated with the regular troops. When, on the other hand, the service of the latter is requisite in any civil commotion, the

Secretary of the Home Department applies to the Commander-in-Chief for such assistance.

The troops on Home service, that is, in Great Britain and the islands in the British Channel, address all reports direct to the Commander-in-Chief of the army. The foreign service is confided to the direction of general officers with the title of "Commanders of the Forces," as already described.

Ireland, notwithstanding its political union with England, being considered rather as a province in military occupation, than an integral part of the United Kingdoms, has a Commander of the forces resident in Dublin for the troops in the island. He communicates with these troops through his own staff and Military Secretary.

In 1815 the foreign possessions of Great Britain had seven* different "Commanders of the Forces," who formed the centres of all military operations, according to the following divisions: the Mediterranean, the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of France, Ceylon, Canada, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands. The command of the forces in India belongs to the Governor-General, who enjoys the powers of Viceroy, and is

* To these our author might have added an eighth commander of the forces abroad, for the British army of occupation in France.—*Tr.*

quite independent of the Commander-in-Chief of the British army.

The Minister of War and Colonies addresses himself to the Commander-in-Chief for all information of which the Cabinet stands in need, with respect to the state of the army, both on home and foreign service, and the details of the organization of the troops.

All demands which arise from the extraordinary expenses incurred in the foreign military establishments are referred to the Minister of War and Colonies.

The Secretary at War being charged with whatever regards the accounts of the army, it is the duty of the Commander-in-Chief to apprize him of such military measures as may entail any expense.

3d *Department.—Confidential Correspondence.*

This office, as indicated by its title, is devoted to the confidential correspondence, which arises, on every point of service, between the Commander-in-Chief and the Ministry, the heads of corps, the Military Governors and General Officers in command.

In time of war, when the cabinet has resolved upon the formation of an army of expedition, it issues orders accordingly to the Commander-in-Chief, and appoints a general for that army. This general takes the title of Commander of

the Forces, and receives particular and secret instructions from the Commander-in-Chief.

On the military inquiry which was held in 1809, upon the subject of the convention of Cintra, among the papers which were produced and published, were the instructions of the Commander-in-Chief, to General Sir Hew Dalrymple, appointed to command the army in Portugal.—This paper, which is, in itself, an interesting historical document, will show us the relations existing between the Commander of an army of expedition, and the Commander-in-Chief.

"Sir,

His Majesty having given you the command of a considerable body of his troops, to be employed on a particular service, I have to acquaint you with the different regiments, the general and staff officers which will compose this army—I desire that you will use all your efforts to fulfil the instructions which you may receive from His Majesty's Ministers.

"In supplying you with the list of the forces to be confided to you, with the view of affording you all the assistance and information in my power, I have thought fit to add thereto, a plan of the method which appears to me most advantageous for the distribution of your army into brigades and divisions,—at the same time,

though I have bestowed every possible attention upon this plan, I beg you will fully understand that it is only drawn up to serve you as a guide, wherever its execution appears to you practicable and easy; but by no means to shackle you, if you prefer any other arrangement, or are under the influence of local or other difficulties.

"You will correspond with me upon all subjects connected with your command; you will regularly communicate to me all the military affairs in which you may be engaged; you will apprize me of all commissions which become vacant, in the corps composing your army;—as the power of nomination to these commissions is not given to you, you will recommend to me such officers as appear to you most deserving of promotion, and explain the particular reasons of your recommendation, whenever they have for their object, a promotion out of the order of seniority.

"As all the regiments marked with an asterisk, in the annexed return, have a second battalion, which remains for home service, it is necessary to apprize you, that the first battalions placed under your orders, being composed, exclusively, of the oldest officers of each rank, all the vacancies in those ranks, whether by death, promotion, or other change, are to be invariably filled by officers of the second battalion, who will re-

ceive orders to join you, as soon as you acquaint me with the vacancies.

"When you have any gentleman to recommend for an ensigncy, I beg you will make me acquainted with his address; in order that, if His Majesty confirms your recommendation, he may receive the order to join his corps as soon as he is appointed.

"You will address the monthly returns of the corps under your orders, to the Secretary at War, and to my Adjutant-General;—you will adhere strictly to His Majesty's regulations, with regard to pay, clothing, and promotions;—your particular attention will be directed to the discipline, and interior economy of the different regiments, not only with regard to the *comfort* of the soldier, an object so essential, but to the preservation of his health in the changes of climate to which he will be exposed.

"I have to call your attention to the instructions of the Paymaster-general to his deputies, relative to the deductions to be made from the pay of the different officers on the staff; in this respect, the most scrupulous attention on your part is enjoined.

'You will be vested with the usual powers of assembling general Courts-martial.—On this subject, I have to call your observation to the heavy inconvenience which has resulted to the

service, from officers in command on foreign stations, having permitted prisoners to return to England before the proceedings and sentences of Courts-martial have been submitted to the King.—In all cases where a person has been tried by a Court-martial, and your powers do not appear to you to be sufficient to enable you to give a final decision upon the proceedings, opinion, and sentence of the Court, I have to direct that you will not permit the prisoner to return to England, before His Majesty's orders have been duly communicated to you, in the regular course of the service.

"I have also to observe to you that many officers, guided by the best intentions, have taken upon themselves to commute sentences of death for transportation for life, or for a limited period, in several cases, where no such power was delegated by His Majesty, which has consequently had the effect of bringing the judicial authority into contempt.—It will be necessary to give your particular attention to the powers which are allotted to you, by His Majesty's command, in order to avoid falling, by inadvertence, into a similar irregularity.

"I particularly beg that the principal officer of the Quarter-Master-General's department may keep a journal or other circumstantial memoir of the movements of the troops, and the actions in which they may be engaged.—He will

take, or collect, plans of the places of anchorage, military positions, and fortified works, where the troops may be stationed, that these plans may be transmitted to me, to be deposited in the military depôt.

"On all points of service, where particular questions, particular doubts may arise, and upon which you are desirous of receiving further and more detailed instructions, you will find me ever ready to bestow the most prompt attention upon your representations and demands.

"I am, &c."

In considering these instructions of the Commander-in-Chief, to the General commanding an expedition, we may deduce many important consequences.—The instructions are, precisely, the same as those addressed, some time before, to General Sir Arthur Wellesley, who commenced the operations of the campaign of 1808, in Portugal, without awaiting the arrival of Sir Hew Dalrymple: it seems, therefore, that they are the invariable regulations for every body of troops: it may, indeed, be conceived, that as they relate only to the constitution and discipline of the army, they have no necessary dependence upon the nature of the expedition, in which particular corps may be serving.—It is very remarkable that in the instructions of the Commander-in-Chief, the object of the expedi-

tion is not even stated.—The troops have orders to form an army *for a particular service.*—It is, as before observed, the Minister of War and Colonies who gives, to the General in command of an army, instructions relative to the special object of the expedition with which he is charged.

Thus, the members of the Cabinet have the responsibility of whatever regards the plan of operations, while there only attaches to the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, that of causing to be executed, with precision and rapidity, the orders of the Cabinet, with the care of regulating the organization and preparatory discipline of the regiments to compose an army. We have now to exhibit the means by which the Commander-in-Chief gives to the different corps, instruction, discipline, and mobility—these means are his Adjutant and Quarter-Master-General.

CHAPTER II.

Departments of the Adjutant and Quarter-Master-General.

The Adjutant-General of the British forces, belongs to the personal staff of the King himself, and accompanies the Sovereign and Commander-in-Chief in their reviews or tours of military inspection. He is named directly by the

King, upon the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief,—the deputy Adjutant-General is also named by the King; but the Adjutant-General has the nomination of the other officers of his department.

The principal officers of this department are:—1. The Adjutant-General,—2. The Deputy-Adjutant-General,*—3. The Assistant-Adjutant-General,—4. The Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General.

These appellations of deputy, assistant, and deputy-assistant, which may be found in most branches of the British administration, are ridiculous and of unnecessary length; their origin itself may be traced to one of the most pernicious abuses, which time has produced in the public services in Great Britain. A number of important places being bestowed upon men, whose birth, connections, intrigues, or political influence supplied their deficiency in talents and activity, they accepted the salary and emoluments of their employment, the duties of which they performed by a delegate, called a *deputy*.—Afterwards it became customary to give the title of deputy to every person who served immediately under the orders of a head of department.

* Who is also inspector of the clothing of the troops.—*Author.*

Eleven clerks, three messengers, and a house-keeper, compose the office of the Adjutant-General, which, for 1819, was a charge to the State, in appointments and different expenses, of £6,717 sterling.

Whatever regards the state of the troops, in effectives and non-effectives; their formation, instruction and discipline; the selection and inspection of military clothing, the arming of regiments; the recruiting and discharging of soldiers; the appointment and recal of staff officers; the regular official returns, as well as those called for upon particular occasions by the Sovereign, the Ministry, or Parliament: all these points are the business of the department over which the Adjutant-General* presides. This officer is, it will be perceived, the director of the personnel of the English army.

On all subjects connected with the duties of this department, commanding officers of corps address themselves to the Adjutant-General, who submits their communications to the Commander-in-Chief. The orders, particular in-

* The Adjutant-General has to prepare in his office, first, weekly, for the Commander-in-Chief and for the Sovereign, the state of the troops serving in Great Britain and Ireland. Secondly, monthly, for the Commander-in-Chief, the Ministry and the Sovereign, a general state of all the forces serving at home and abroad.—*Author.*

structions, and general regulations which emanate from the Commander-in-Chief, in the name of the King, or by his own authority, whether relating to the organization, discipline or instruction of the army, are prepared, forwarded to commanding officers of corps, and published by the Adjutant-General, by command of the Commander-in-Chief, and with, at least, the implied approbation of the Monarch.*

It is to be seen from the results of the Military Inquiry, ordered by parliament in 1805, that, since the epoch at which the Duke of York took the general command of the British forces, the department of the Adjutant-General has assumed a new and more important character. It is become the centre, and the directing principle of a system, under which the army has been, in a great degree, modelled anew. The general regulations applicable to troops on home service, are extended to the forces serving abroad, a rigorous discipline has enforced the execution of these regulations, and an exactitude and

* These Rules and Regulations were published by authority, in one volume 8vo. in 1811. Since that year additional instructions have appeared under the title of "Addenda to the General Regulations and Orders for the Army." The greatest assistance has been derived from these official publications in acquiring our information upon the constitution and discipline of the English army.—*Author.*

punctuality have thus been attained, which were formerly altogether unheard of in the English service.

It may be conceived that it would be an inconvenient arrangement to establish, for ordinary details, a daily correspondence between London and the more distant parts of Scotland. A simple and easy expedient has been found of having, in the capital of that kingdom, a centre of business for the military affairs of North Britain. The troops in Scotland, instead of addressing themselves immediately to the Adjutant-General's office in London, report to a Deputy-Adjutant-General residing in Edinburgh. This officer is distinct from the other deputy, who acts, as already described, under the Adjutant-General in the metropolis.

Ireland, being considered as a foreign station, has its own Adjutant-General, to whom the commanding-officers of corps in that country address themselves. This Adjutant-General reports to, and receives orders from the Adjutant-General of the British forces in London. In each of the military districts of the three kingdoms, districts of which we shall hereafter speak more in detail, the service of the personnel of the staff is conducted by an Assistant-Adjutant-General, nominated by the Commander-in-Chief, but at the recommendation of the Adju-

tant-General, with whom the assistants, thus named, are in correspondence, though not under his immediate orders. When camps are formed on home service, the Generals appointed to command them have also their Assistant-Adjutants-General.

All military commandants, also, of a territory, or body of troops, in Great Britain or the foreign stations, are obliged to transmit to the Adjutant-General of the Forces, to be afterwards submitted to the Commander-in-Chief, periodical states of their commands, in a circumstantial form.

In the beginning of every May and October, after the spring and autumn inspections, the general officers in employment transmit a confidential report on the discipline of the regiments, and the merits of the officers under their orders.

Of all the reports required periodically, these half-yearly returns are the most important by far, from the extent and nature of the subjects which they embrace. They must state for each regiment and distinct battalion, what officer has commanded the corps since the last return; what degree of attention that officer has bestowed on the different points of service; what progress the corps has made in its discipline and military exercises, particularly in the ma-

nœuvres prescribed by regulation; what officers, from age, infirmity, or other cause, appear unfit for the service, &c. These reports extend at once to the matériel and personnel; they include whatever can affect the moral and physical qualities of the officer and the soldier, and are divided into as many parts as there are important heads for consideration under the two points of view. Lastly, every report must be in itself complete, without referring, to save trouble, to preceding returns.

It is certain that, in obliging general officers to direct their inspection to such various objects, and in such manner as to be able to report, after a complete and methodical plan, they are necessitated to give their scrupulous attention to an immense number of important details, which would, without such a system, be forgotten or neglected. They acquire the habit of judging, in the aggregate and in particular, on all the points which influence the superiority of one body of troops over another. Each review, instead of being a mere matter of parade and display, becomes a lengthened and serious military study, and one also of the utmost importance, both to the inspector himself and the forces generally. It appears to me, that in France, we should be infinitely gainers by providing our Inspecting-General-Officers with

plans of their reviews, and forms of the reports which they are to make, as much in detail, and in every respect as well methodized as those prepared by the Adjutant-General of the British forces.

The Quarter-Master-General of the British forces is placed in the same rank as the Adjutant-General, and equally belongs to the personal staff of the Sovereign. He accompanies the King and the Commander-in-Chief in their reviews and tours of military inspection. He is, as well as his deputy, named by the King, on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief. The officers of his department are of his own choice, but must be confirmed in their appointments by the Commander-in-Chief.

The Quarter-Master-General is specially charged with the march, embarkation and debarkation of the forces; their quartering and encampment; the plans to be laid down, and dispositions to be made for the defence of a territory by field-works and troops.

When in 1808 the Commissioners of Military Inquiry desired to know what had been the appointments and expense of the Quarter-Master-General's department in 1793, it was impossible to satisfy their demand; and no authentic documents could be afforded for any period earlier than 1803. This sufficiently proves how little regularity had existed before that period

in a department, which only then began to assume its present high importance, and to discharge the duties now devolving on it.

The following was the personnel of the Quarter-Master-General's office at the breaking out and close of the late war, as compared with its amount at present (1819) after four years of peace—

EMPLOYMENTS.	1803	1815		1819		
First, Military						
Quarter-Master-General	1	1		1		
Deputy	1	1		1		
Assistants	5	4		1		
Deputy Assistants	0	3		2		
Secondly, Civil						
Clerks	7	6		5		
Office-keeper	1	1		1		
Servants	0	1		2		
Messengers	2	3		2		
Total	17	20		15		
	£.	£.	s.	£.	s.	d.
Charges for the same	413*	9771	4	5921	13	3

Exclusive of the above enumeration of the personnel of the department during the war, there were permanent Assistant-Quarter-Masters-General in each of the military districts of Great Britain; who performed all the duties relating to the march, quarters, and encampment

* There appears to be some gross error of the press here in the French work, as will be evident on comparing the officers of the department at the time with this sum; however, it has been thought right to leave the sum as it is stated in the original.—*Tr.*

of troops, and the construction of field-works, which are under the cognizance of the Quarter-Master-General.

In the Quarter-Master-General's department, as in that of the Adjutant-General, there is a deputy resident in Edinburgh, for the service of North Britain; whose office is a charge of about £922 per annum.

The Commanders of the Forces in Ireland, and in the foreign possessions, have a staff formed upon the same plan. In every British army there are, a Quarter-Master-General, Deputies, and Assistants, fulfilling duties of the utmost importance, and analogous in every respect to those performed in England by the Quarter-Master-General of the British forces and his corps of officers.

Officers of all arms, while serving under the orders of the Quarter-Master or Adjutant-General, have the common appellation of Staff-officers; they cannot be selected for these branches of service until they have done duty with a regiment for at least four years, and they return to their respective corps whenever they are no longer required on the staff. No regiment of cavalry, no battalion of infantry, is permitted to furnish more than two captains, and the same number of subalterns, to the staff. Commanding officers are enjoined not to suffer

their officers to be put on the staff until they have acquired a perfect knowledge of the duties of their particular arm.

It was not until nearly at the close of the first French revolutionary war, that the English turned their thoughts to the formation of a special school of instruction for young officers of the staff. The pupils of this school were tried, for the first time, in the Egyptian expedition. They were of the greater service on that occasion, as, at the time, the British staff were in total ignorance of the manner of directing the march of troops, and of choosing, on a rapid survey of ground, the most advantageous positions and routes. The success of the first pupils of the school for the staff opened the eyes of Government to the importance of such an institution; it was rendered permanent, and united to the school which had just been founded for cadets for the infantry and cavalry, the whole establishment being termed the Military College. We shall hereafter describe in detail, the organization and studies of the whole, (Book VIII.)

During the short truce of 1802 and 1803, the English government perceived that the peace could not be durable, and that Great Britain must soon have recourse again to arms to support their refusal to surrender Malta, and to oppose the aggressions of a conqueror, who

daily became more formidable and more ambitious. The young officers of the Quarter-Master-General's department, who had just made with success their first campaigns in Egypt, were employed again in reconnoitring and sketching, in the fullest detail, and upon a large scale, the whole coast of England from Portsmouth to the mouth of the Thames, with a breadth of fifteen miles from the sea. Shortly afterwards the idea was conceived of forming a Topographical Department, in the Quarter-Master-General's office, where a great collection of maps, military plans and memoirs, as well as the best works on war in every language, were deposited. This military depôt and library are, or at least were lately, under direction of a Major-General, having military draftsmen as assistants. These draftsmen have always been in small number. At the close of 1815, there were only six assistants besides the director. This corps is very far from having, like a similar establishment in France, advanced the descriptive arts, and produced important consequences.

In the military depôt, the surveys of the maritime counties, which were executed by the officers, above alluded to, in 1802 and 3, are preserved; and these officers have been occasionally detached from the central office to ex-

amine the state of the roads and military communications, to choose the ground fitted for the encampment and exercise of troops, to direct the field-works necessary for public defence, &c.

When the expeditions to Portugal and Spain were undertaken, the staff of the British army was abundantly supplied with these officers, who, though young in years, were matured by their service in Egypt, and experience acquired in the execution of the various works of which we have given an idea.—These officers were attached in equal numbers to the different divisions of the army.

When the army, occupying any position, were about to advance, following a given direction, all the officers of the Quarter-Master-General's staff, charged with making reconnoissances, immediately moved forward, and distributed the country to be surveyed among them—each advanced in the route pointed out to him, and pushed his reconnoissance at least one day's march in front of the army;—about five o'clock in the evening they all returned to the head-quarters of their department, and delivered over their sketches to other officers who were charged with the business of making them agree, to form one general plan,—on this the Quarter-Master-General and the Commander of the Forces traced the routes to be followed, and the

positions to be taken up by the troops when put in motion next day;—the same means were employed for procuring, with extreme rapidity, the general and detailed plan of ground upon which an action was about to take place.*

The hasty composition of a general plan of this kind, formed of elements collected by different officers, who each performed their portion of it without connection with the others, was rendered possible, and even easy, because the officers had been instructed in the same school, were habituated to judge of height and distances, and of the features of ground, upon the same principles, and were accustomed to describe analogous objects by the same signs, and to draw them on the same scale.

The English, in bestowing extreme attention upon the general forms and accidents of ground, have acquired great tact, and an extraordinary facility of rapid judgment in the selection of advantageous positions, on an important emergency. The excellence of their lines of battle

* This passage of our author must be taken *cum grano salis*; for it will be evident that though such a sketch may be made beforehand, of a defensive position on which an army is falling back, the same thing cannot be prepared in the face of an enemy; even so courtly an adversary as M. Dupin's own countrymen, the French, would doubtless object to the intrusion of staff officers, with sextant, compass, and plane-table, within their position on the eve of a battle.—*Tr.*

at Aboukir, Vimiera, &c. may be adduced in proof of this. Too confident in the brilliant courage and energy of our troops, our generals with a daring, more noble than prudent, have not feared to attack such positions in front, and no prodigies of valor, coolness, and military talent could procure them success. In the greater part of these fatal occurrences, if we had conceived a sufficient respect for the defensive talents and power of resistance of our adversaries, instead of entertaining the hope of forcing such impregnable positions, we should have manœuvred to cause their abandonment. Superior to our enemy, in the powers of movement of our army, the precision of our grand manœuvres, the unison of our operations, we might readily have obliged them to give battle on ground, at least equally favourable for us, perhaps even more advantageous than for our adversary.*

* We can have no objection to admit the correctness of the Author's opinion on the tactical judgment displayed by the British in the choice of good defensive positions; but we may be permitted to withhold our assent from his implied assertion, that the success of our arms in the late war was mainly attributable to this one excellence. Among various other instances, we need adduce but the attacks upon the strong position of Vittoria, and the entrenched lines on the Nivelle, to prove that the superior qualities of the British military, were neither confined to the resistance of assaults, nor dependant upon the adventitious circumstances of ground.—*Tr.*

We have now to notice the manner in which the English have drawn the distinction of duties between the officers of the Quarter-Master-General's department, and those of the Royal Engineers.

The former are exclusively charged with facilitating and directing the march of the army; of sketching the ground upon which lines of operation, of march, &c. are to be executed; of marking out encampments and positions to be occupied by the troops; of ascertaining the resources in provisions, forage, quarters, &c. which the surrounding country can furnish.

The officers of the military Engineers frequently superintend the construction of temporary works, and always those of permanent fortification. When a siege is in contemplation they are charged with reconnoîtring the place, and all the surrounding country; they have then, the exclusive direction of operations and works,—the officers of the staff have no longer any other functions than those of directing the encamping or cantonment of the troops in the environs of the besieged place, and these duties are only performed with the previous approbation of the Engineer department.

The English have at this moment one of the finest bodies of staff officers in Europe. The importance attached by the government to this

branch of the service is sufficiently visible in the sacrifices which have been made without hesitation to form and maintain its excellence.

An old officer of the English army made me observe the advantage of confiding, in the active service of marches and engagements, all the labour of reconnoissances to officers, like those of the staff, *drawn from regiments*; distinguished by youth, ambition, unbounded activity, and possessing no other knowledge than that requisite for their profession: while the officers of the Engineers, generally formed to reflection, to methodical processes, to lengthened and profound studies;—though they are by these very circumstances best fitted for the particular and geometrical operations of their service, appear less adapted to the rapid duties of sketch and observation, which must guide, and sometimes determine, at a moment, the hastened march of the divisions of an army.

These observations are in many respects well founded, but we should err in resolving them into a general rule. There are spirits so ardent, characters so full of energy, that no study can extinguish their fire. Such have we seen the Meusniers, the d'Arcons, the Caffarellis, the Bachelus, the Bernards, and the Carnots,—such men have, on the field of battle, united the profound views derived from enlarged theory, with

the military *coup d'œil.* It would have been the height of injustice to have denied them the opportunity of discharging the duties of the staff, because they had acquired more solid and extensive science than was exactly applicable to the performance of them. It is then the duty of a General in command, without confining himself to the idle distinctions of corps and branches of service, to combine the natural and acquired talents of the officers who surround him, for the attainment of that union of views and execution which leads to victory.

CHAPTER III.

Of General, Staff, and Regimental Officers.

There are, in the British service, four ranks of general officers;—1. Field-Marshals, who correspond to the Marshals of France;—2. Generals who answer to our Lieutenant-Generals commanding in chief;—3. Lieutenant-Generals;—4. Major-Generals who correspond to our *maréchaux-de-camp.* There was besides a fifth rank, of Brigadier-General, but it no longer exists, and the command attached to it now belongs to the Major-General. The following is a table of the numbers of each rank of general officers, at three different periods of interest:—

	1st June. 1815	1st June. 1819	12th Aug. 1819
Field-Marshals	6	7	7
Generals	112	83	106
Lieutenant-Generals.	250	188	197
Major-Generals	306	284	315
Total	674	562	625

This division of the superior military ranks appears to be one of the worst that could possibly have been adopted. In the first place, with only two exceptions, the rank of Field-Marshal is abandoned to Princes who never commanded an army :—the highest military office of dignity must thus be regarded as a mere honorary rank or sinecure.

In the next place, the number of Generals has always been too great, even during a period of war. Of the hundred and twelve Generals, supported on the war-establishment in 1815, there were, at most, ten in employment; at present not half that number are on active service;—it may, indeed, be supposed that it is almost impossible to employ in the same line, Generals and Lieutenant-Generals in the subordinate commands of the divisions of an army or colonial government.

Modern nations no longer exhibit, in the high military ranks, that noble disinterestedness which shone with such lustre among the people of antiquity, and induced the greatest warriors

to serve alternately as generals, and as lieutenants, or simple volunteers. In our times, a General who has commanded an army in chief, would think it derogatory to him, to serve in another army as a subordinate officer;—that system must therefore be bad, which comprehends too many officers, who cannot be employed in the secondary ranks; and it deprives the service of the talents and exertions of many among the most distinguished of the general officers.

In comparing the strength of these officers, in June 1815, and in the same month in 1819, it is seen that, during four years only, their total number had diminished one hundred and twelve; a circumstance which appeared to indicate a regular system of gradual and necessary reduction;—but, on the 12th of August, 1819, we observe the number again increased to six hundred and twenty-five; since which it has been further augmented, in the face of the solemn promises which the ministry had, in 1817, tendered to the parliament.*

* In making this remark, M. Dupin does not appear to have been aware that the brevet of 1819 entailed no fresh expense upon the public, because all the officers promoted, received no additional pay, but retained their regimental commissions, until there should be vacancies in the limited number of general officers on unattached allowances.—*Tr.*

To demonstrate how much the staff of general officers of the English army is out of all proportion to the wants of Great Britain, we shall be contented with giving the following table, extracted from the report which the Finance Committee of 1817 submitted to Parliament.

EMPLOYED IN THE THREE KINGDOMS.	1815.	1816.	1817.
Commanders of the Forces or Generals in Chief	2	2	2
Lieutenant-Generals	11	1	1
Major-Generals	30	18	15
EMPLOYED IN FOREIGN SERVICE			
Commanders of the Forces	7	3	3
Generals	1	0	0
Lieutenant-Generals	6	2	2
Major-Generals	53	14	12
Total	110	40	35

To these numbers should be added the general officers on the staff of the army of occupation, consisting, on the 25th of December, 1817, of a Field-Marshal, in command of the forces, four Lieutenant-Generals, and sixteen Major-Generals.

The English thus employed, during the most active part of the war, only one hundred and fifty general officers, while they retained upon the strength six hundred and seventy-four.

The general officers have, attached to their

suite, in proportion to their ranks, a number of aides-de-camp, of which the following return will give an idea.—It does not include thirteen aides-de-camp to the Regent during the war, and six, during peace.

AIDES-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL OFFICERS ON THE STAFF.	1815.	1816.	1817.
In Great Britain	55	28	24
In Foreign possessions .	96	39	30
Total . .	151	67	54

Aides-de-camp are not permitted to be regimental officers.* A subaltern cannot be appointed aide-de-camp, until he has served, at least, twelve months with a regiment.

We have now to speak of one of the most important services of the staff of general officers in the British armies.—The territory of the three Kingdoms is allotted into districts, which are entrusted, with regard to military affairs, to general officers, in the same manner as our military divisions. During the war, these districts were ten in number for England, and the isles in the Channel, two for Scotland, and seven for Ireland.—Since the peace the districts

* This is not quite correctly stated, as it is not a general regulation which forbids regimental officers from serving as aides-de-camp, but merely a temporary peace arrangement, to favour officers on half-pay.—At other times aides-de-camp are always regimental officers.—*Tr.*

of South Britain have been reduced to six.—In the first establishment, the little islands, and the coast, opposite to France, formed seven out of the ten divisions.

The general officers of districts are enjoined to gain, with the most scrupulous care, a thorough acquaintance with the actual state of the military corps under their orders; to inquire into the nature and duration of service of the men of those corps; and lastly, to be accurately informed of the numerical force which the different regiments can produce in case of need.

They are required to inform themselves of the military resources of their districts, in provisions, labourers, horses and means of transport for troops, ammunition, and baggage;—they are also to attain a profound military knowledge of the characteristic features of the territory which they command, of the whole of the military depôts, the fortified places, the assailable points of their district; of the best method of defence, of the means of operating with advantage against an invading army, &c. They are to familiarize the officers of their staff with these different points of attention.

The general officers commanding districts must be prepared, at all times, to give the Commander-in-Chief, at the shortest notice, whatever information he may desire, with regard to

the discipline, clothing, and preparation for immediate service of the corps under his command.

The troops of a district form one or more brigades, each with its major, who is the officer of the brigade, and not of the general; on the march his post is at the head of the leading regiment; and he encamps in rear of the centre of the brigade.—He orders the details of guards and other duties.

The details of the service of a district are confided to assistants-adjutant, and quarter-master-general. The assistant-adjutant-general is responsible for the correctness of the reports on the military state of the district, and his rank is superior to that of the majors of brigade;—on this account he is always selected from the field-officers. The orders of the commanders of districts are transmitted through him for immediate execution. The assistant-quarter-master-general is charged with the quartering, encampment, and marching of troops throughout the district;—he gives account of his operations to the quarter-master-general of the forces, and transmits to him every month, a report upon the whole of the troops in the district.—He is (under the orders of the General commanding) entrusted with the receipt into the magazines, and issue to the forces, of all camp equipage. He keeps the account of expenses incurred in

the construction and preservation of field-works, as well as the support of posts for alarm-signals in time of war. In the maritime districts, the assistant quarter-master-general is instructed to acquire a thorough knowledge of the points where a landing is practicable, of the best positions for defence, near those points, and of the particular winds and periods of tides which would afford an enemy a favourable opportunity of approaching the coast. In all the districts, he must be entirely master of the state of the roads, and such accidents of the ground as are applicable to defence, as well as of the course of the rivers, and the means of inundating the country;—he must sketch all the important positions with their several points of access, and draw up a memoir upon the attack of these positions.—Finally he must give his attention to the embarkation and landing of troops, and, in short, perform for his district, all the detail of duties which we have described as belonging to the department of quarter-master-general.

Like the forces of most of the European powers, the army of Great Britain is divided into regiments;—but, in interior organization, these regiments differ widely from the troops of other nations; and, in order to understand the difference thoroughly, it will be necessary to examine, in succession, whatever is most re-

markable in their system, with regard to officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers. We shall finish this book, before we proceed farther, with a notice of whatever regards the regimental officers of the British army.

Every regiment of infantry or cavalry is commanded by a colonel, who has the property of his corps; and this property is so lucrative, that a lieutenant-general, or even a general with a staff appointment, is less rich than a colonel enjoying the profits of his regiment.—It is on this account that the greater number of commissions of colonel are held by major-generals, lieutenant-generals, generals, and even field-marshals, who receive the pay of simple colonels. Not only, however, do general officers of all ranks hold the situation of colonel, but a great number of the same order are merely lieutenant-colonels, majors, and some even simple captains, in the different regiments of the army. It is consequent upon this system, that the titulary colonels scarcely ever serve with their regiments. Called to the command of brigades, divisions, armies, the general officers are obliged to abandon to their lieutenant-colonels, the conduct of corps of which they are only the honorary commanders; hence, it may be conceived what an enormous difference there must be between regiments submitted to the ideal

government of an invisible chief, who corresponds much more frequently with the agent or treasurer of his corps than with the officer and the soldier, and troops which are always commanded by their own colonel, who depends upon them alone for his military glory and advancement; who sees in them his companions in arms; who grows attached to them because he is accustomed to be with them; who, in a word, sharing their labours, their dangers, and their sufferings, must be in the daily performance of something or other to render their lives more easy, and to form them to those exercises, their success in which, will ensure his own reputation.*

* Notwithstanding this oblique compliment to the rule of the French service, at the expense of our own, the author has failed to give one practical illustration of what he conceives to be the disadvantage of the British system in this respect.—The fact is that the lieutenant-colonel commanding an English battalion, is the person who answers to the French colonel of a regiment, and is vested with as much power to encourage merit, possesses as much opportunity to discover its existence, and has the same general incitement to personal exertion, as if he were styled colonel, instead of lieutenant-colonel. Though the clothing of a regiment is yet furnished by the colonel, its quality and uniformity of pattern are rigorously examined by the proper board. It may indeed be a question whether it would not be preferable to discharge the colonel of a corps from all concern with the clothing, and increase his pay to an equivalent amount with the off-reckonings,—an arrangement, at once, economical and ad-

Formerly the colonels had great authority over their regiments, and directed their discipline and recruitment at pleasure.—With the office of furnishing the clothing of their regiments, which they do at present, they were subjected, in this respect, to no preparatory inspection, which could guarantee the proper quality of the articles provided.—Lastly, they were almost entirely arbiters of all the promotions of officers in their respective corps. This almost unlimited authority presented two heavy objections; in the first place, it was the source of abuses innumerable, and a train of petty acts of injustice; secondly, it destroyed every sort of uniformity in the discipline and instruction of the troops. Regiments exercised in manœuvres and movements entirely dissimilar, could not at all act in unison when assembled for the formation of an army; and as the officers of all ranks troubled themselves very little with the duties and studies of their profession, this want of union in discipline became yet more mischievous.

These faults have been corrected by the present Commander-in-Chief. Uniting, with the authority of his station, all the influence which

vantageous both to Government and the colonel; but no one can doubt the propriety of such a provision as a regiment for an old or distinguished general officer.—*Tr.*

the title of first Prince of the blood after the presumptive Heir to the Crown could give, the Duke of York was enabled to triumph over every resistance; and to concentrate in his own hands, that authority which it was so necessary to regulate with an uniform action.—Whatever relates to the organization, discipline, and exercise of the troops, is at present, as before observed, under the all-powerful direction of the Commander-in-Chief.—His instructions serve as a guide to all corps, even to those united on an army of expedition, and serving under a general out of Great Britain.

Each regiment is essentially composed of one battalion, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and a major,* termed field-officers.—On the war establishment, regiments have often a second, or even a third battalion, each commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major; but these battalions are always considered as supernumerary, and disbanded on the return of peace.†

The battalions serve as independent corps; and the lieutenant-colonels are therefore pro-

* The usual establishment to every battalion is two majors instead of one, where there are above six or eight companies. —*Tr.*

† There are, however, three regiments, besides the same number of those of the Foot Guards, which retain two battalions each on the peace establishment.—*Tr.*

perly the colonels of regiments, for they have the executive authority, though the emoluments do not rest with them.

The companies are officered by captains, lieutenants, and ensigns or cornets. The officers of these ranks, excepting the first, are styled subalterns. It is only sixteen years since the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major, had each the titulary command of a company, to enable them thus to enjoy the advantage of their rank of field-officer with the emoluments of that of captain. These field-officers, being considered as sinecurists, had each a sort of deputy (a captain-lieutenant) to command the companies of which they were the nominal captains.* This abuse was quashed by an

* Before the rank of captain-lieutenant was suppressed, there were, as supposed by our author, three companies in every British regiment of foot, of which the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major were the titular captains. The first of these companies (the colonel's) was commanded by the captain-lieutenant, who enjoyed all the allowances of captain with the pay of lieutenant only. The colonel had therefore no emolument from the absurd regulation which called him captain of a company in his own regiment. With the lieutenant-colonel and major, the case was different; they enjoyed the non-effective allowance as captains of their nominal companies, which were actually commanded by simple lieutenants, and paid sometimes by these field-officers, sometimes by the subalterns in charge of them. There was thus only one captain-lieutenant for the regiment, and not three, as implied by the author.—*Tr.*

order at the epoch of the declaration of war between England and France in the year 1803.

Of Promotions.

The selection and promotion of officers is one of the principal sources of good or defective organization in an army. In this respect, as in many others, a very visible improvement has been operated in the British service within a few years. Seniority of service is now made the basis of promotion, where there is an equality of other claims; excepting only with regard to the colonelcy of regiments, which is sometimes given to interest, sometimes to merit. At the same time, however, for distinguished conduct, or important services, the order of seniority is disregarded.

Corruption, disguised, or rather avowed, under the name of parliamentary influence, formerly obliged a ministry to confer military employments and promotion upon beings unworthy of such distinctions; but the Duke of York, powerful both in his birth and the just privileges of his station, has shown himself superior to such considerations, and young men of family are now obliged to serve in their regiments like all other officers. They no longer obtain their promotion without any effort to deserve it. More

information, a better education, is now required of the youth who are ambitious of entering the military service of their country. It is by this care, and by a discipline equally wise and severe, that the vice of intoxication, which degrades a superior in the eyes of those under his command, has been made to disappear. The British officer of this day does not place the point of honour in the capability for excess of this nature.*

All commissions in the army are conferred in the name of the King, and the choice is supposed to be made by the monarch. His right, however, is exerted very rarely upon favorites, and he almost invariably follows the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief, who is himself guided by the previous opinion of general officers and commanders of corps.

To restrain the abuse of favor, a period has been fixed, which every officer must serve in each rank, before he can be promoted to the one immediately above it. No one can attain to the appointment to a commission in the army,

* Intoxication is an odious vice; and since the Duke of York has been at the head of the army, officers have ceased to pride themselves upon the insensate capability of drinking.—*An Inquiry into the Present State of the British Empire, Sir R. T. Wilson.*——Author.

until he has completed his sixteenth year. To become captain, he must have served at least three years as a subaltern officer. Before he can be a major, he must have been seven years in the army, and two, at least, as captain; and he cannot be appointed to a lieutenant-colonelcy until he has been a major, and can reckon nine years of military service. These measures are replete with wisdom, and have been attended with the best effects. But a system of promotion has still been left, which tends to destroy both zeal and emulation from the highest rank to the lowest.

In England, every man who fills a public employment, whether civil or military, regards it very nearly as his legitimate and unalienable property. It is thus that the officers of the army have learnt to appropriate to themselves the possession of their ranks, and to sell and exchange them like fiefs or patrimonial inheritances. The government has not only permitted this strange alienation of military commissions, but has even recognized its propriety, and regulated it by a fixed scale of purchase and exchange. The following is a table of the legal prices of promotion in the regular army.*

* These rates have just been raised, but whether as a permanent or temporary measure does not appear certain.—*Tr.*

Rank.	*Full price.*		*Difference to be paid in passing from the rank following next below it.*	
	£.	s.	£.	s.
Life-Guards.				
Lieutenant-Colonel	5200	0	950	0
Major	4250	0	1150	0
Captain	3100	0	1260	0
Lieutenant	1785	0	525	0
Cornet	1260	0		
Royal Horse-Guards Blue.				
Lieutenant-Colonel	4950	0	900	0
Major	4050	0	1100	0
Captain	2950	0	1600	0
Lieutenant	1350	0	300	0
Cornet	1050	0		
Dragoon-Guards, and Dragoons.				
Lieutenant-Colonel	4982	10	1100	0
Major	3882	10	1100	0
Captain	2782	10	1785	0
Lieutenant	997	10	262	10
Cornet	735			
Foot-Guards.				
Lieutenant-Colonel	6700	0	400	0
Major	6300	0	2800	0
Captain, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel	3500	0	2000	0
Lieutenant, with the rank of Captain	1500	0	600	0
Ensign	900	0		
Infantry of the Line.				
Lieutenant-Colonel	3500	0	900	0
Major	2600	0	1100	0
Captain	1500	0	950	0
Lieutenant	550	0	150	0
Ensign	400	0		
Fuzileer Regiments, *with First and Second Lieutenants.*				
First Lieutenant	550	0	100	0
Second Lieutenant	450	0		

By the provisions of this scale, it will be seen that it is necessary to commence by the payment of a certain sum for the lowest commission. Afterwards, at every step the officer, to obtain his promotion, has to give the difference in value between his actual rank, and that next in succession. In particular cases, officers are allowed to sell their commissions, and sometimes to pass from active service to half-pay, by receiving the moiety of the price of their rank; and *vice versâ*, to return on full-pay by giving half the value of their commission.

All applications for exchanges, retirements, and promotions in regiments must be addressed to the military secretary of the Commander-in-Chief, by the colonel, if the corps is on home-service; if not, by the general-officer commanding on the foreign station. One part of the duty of regimental agents is regularly to apprize the commanding-officers of regiments of the date and nature of all pecuniary transactions, made, or to be made, in promotions, exchanges, retirements, &c.

When an officer wishes to quit the service and to sell his commission, he must, in pursuance of the course here explained, tender his resignation to be laid before the Commander-in-Chief. The colonel can, in transmitting this application, if there are purchasers in the

regiment, recommend them in the order of seniority, certifying also his persuasion that no greater sum than that stipulated by regulation is intended to be paid by the purchaser. Every three months, each officer in actual command of a regiment must forward to the military secretary of the Commander-in-Chief, a return of officers who are prepared to purchase the respective ranks; and he must transmit a similar return to the regimental agent, that the latter may, in all cases, communicate with the titular colonel.

For the prevention of abuses in this merchandize of commissions, it is enacted by a statute of the reign of George the Third, that no person shall be competent to exercise this branch of trade, *the purchase, sale, or exchange of military commissions*, except regimental agents, duly authorised. These agents are to prevent the printing or publishing of any species of advertisement or proposals for the purchase, sale, or exchange of such commissions; they must neither give nor receive presents of any sort, nor remuneration, nor enter into any agreement, direct or indirect, for the receipt of such advantages. Every officer who should give or accept for a commission more than is allowed by regulation, or who should pay brokers for negociating such a business, is, by the same

law, to be tried by a court-martial, and cashiered: and further, in case, after having left the service, for a previously regulated compensation, any officer should continue to receive a sum as an annuity or otherwise, he is punishable for a misdemeanor, together with all the accomplices of such fraudulent agreement. All the measures thus taken by the Government and legislature to regulate such transactions have, up to the present moment, failed of their object. We will quote on this subject a very curious passage in a memoir addressed in 1804 by a field-officer to Mr. Pitt, the prime minister.

"An officer signs a certificate, in which he declares, on his word of honour as an officer and a gentleman, that he neither pays nor receives, directly or indirectly, any thing more than the sum fixed by regulation. Yet, almost all officers have paid or received more than the stipulated sum, and this custom is so general, so well understood, that no infamy attaches to such transactions. Nevertheless, if for such an offence, an officer were brought before a court-martial, he must be cashiered, although every one of his judges should be equally culpable." (*Wilson, Inquiry, &c.*)

Thus the venality of commissions accustoms officers to violate the sacred faith of an

oath. It instils into the most disinterested the want, and the thirst of money. It is extremely difficult for a man without fortune to economise, on his pay, as a non-commissioned officer, so as to save sufficient for the purchase of his ensign's commission, if in the infantry, and afterwards, not only to support his rank as an officer, but to accumulate also a sum from his pay for further promotion from rank to rank.*

* Though the author has no where explicitly said, that, in the British service every promotion must be purchased, there seems very little reason to doubt that he wrote under such an impression. How utterly erroneous this is, need not be explained; and it is only surprising that the intelligent Frenchman should, upon this subject of purchase, have fallen under misapprehension, from which his industrious spirit of inquiry, and his frequent intercourse, when in England, with military men, have protected him on points of less notoriety. It would not be easy to discover where he contracted the idea that a non-commissioned officer is free to purchase a commission, whenever he has accumulated the price of an ensigncy,—a thing never heard of; or, instead of its being only a difficult undertaking for a serjeant to save such a sum from his pay, how he was ever led to believe that it could be, at all, within the scope of possibility.

The purchase of promotion altogether appears at first sight so repugnant to every principle upon which military advancement should be grounded, and so injurious to the soldier with no other dependance than his sword, that it must naturally strike a foreigner with surprize and disgust; but a little reflection will place the system in a different light. It is impossible,

In the cavalry, the expenses of the officers are so great that it would be impossible to live, and maintain their rank upon their mere pay. A general-officer, a lieutenant-colonel of light cavalry, told me that he had made a calcula-

and would not be desirable, if it were possible, to exclude the hereditary aristocracy of Great Britain from all influence in the army. Young men of high family would not serve in a profession where they must entirely forfeit the advantages usual on their station in every other situation in life; and, if they could not purchase promotion, they would obtain it by interest, or withdraw altogether from the army. Now promotion, by the intrigues of ministerial or official interest, is far more galling to the friendless officer, than the open and general competition by purchase, where every man may in his turn assert the claim, if he can command the regulated sum. The abolition of purchase would not solace the feelings of the soldier of fortune, if the pretensions of interest became only the more powerful in consequence: and should these pretensions be alike disregarded, the aristocracy of birth and wealth, who have so great a stake in the dearest interests and liberties of the country, would give place in her armies to the mere military adventurer; we should exchange the constitutional army of Great Britain for the model of the military system of imperial France.

Nor should it be forgotten in our judgment upon the purchase and sale of commissions, how frequently the power is thus granted to an old officer of securing a permanent provision for a helpless family by the sale of his rank; how often the death-bed of the veteran is smoothed by the reflection that a long life of service has not been without its advantage to his children.—*Tr.*

tion of the unavoidable expenses of the youngest officer of his corps, and had found that it would be impossible to cover them, under a private income of at least £300 a year, besides pay and allowances.

BOOK III.

OF THE TROOPS.

CHAPTER I.

The Royal Guards and Cavalry.

A SPECIAL regulation establishes the precedence of troops of the different arms, whether in order of battle, in duties of honour, or those of parade. The mounted forces, as may be seen by the following table, are always placed before those on foot; this is contrary to sound military doctrines, which consider, with reason, artillery and infantry as the most important arms.

Order of Precedence.

1. Life and Dragoon Guards.	5. Foot Guards.
2. Horse Artillery.	6. Veteran Battalions.
3. Cavalry.	7. Infantry of the Line.
4. Foot Artillery and Sappers.	8. Militia and Volunteers.

The regiments of each arm are distinguished by numbers, in the same manner as the demi-

brigades of the French republic, and the regiments of the French empire. Some corps, however, bear the name of their colonels,* or that of particular towns or provinces. The artillery and engineers having a formation, independent of, and different from that of the rest of the army; we shall speak of them in the fifth book, on the Ordnance. With respect to the other corps, we shall describe them in their order of precedence, commencing, in this chapter, with the Royal Guards and Cavalry.

The guard of the Prince should never form a distinct body from the rest of the army. The honor of watching over the preservation of the life of the monarch and his family, should be the recompense of valor in war, and of high order and discipline in peace. This noble reward, held out to courage and military virtue, without distinction, would inflame officers and soldiers with generous and all-powerful emulation. They would become rivals in heroism before the enemy, and in moderation and peaceful demeanor among their fellow-citizens. The armed force would display itself at the foot of the throne, not to inspire terror by the aspect of sabres and bayonets; but to convince the Sovereign that he is the chief of a national

* We recollect no instance of this sort.—*Tr.*

army, and to prove to his subjects that the supreme magistrate will only confide his safety to those of the military who are most devoted to their country, and most submissive to its laws. Such might be, such ought to be, above all, the guard of a constitutional king, like the sovereign of Great Britain.

George the Third, who appears to have been sensible of this truth, and who was besides an enemy to all ridiculous pomp, kept his military household at a distance from his person during the greater part of his reign. Living in a simplicity worthy of the olden time, in the retired castle of Windsor, he had no other guard than a mere regiment of militia, to whose colonel and band he was partial. But the spectacle of the patriarchal manners of a king, who possessed all the private, and many of the public virtues, formed round his person a more powerful rampart than the glittering cuirasses of privileged guards.

Cavalry of the Guard.

The cavalry of the guard is composed of the Life-Guards and the Horse-Guards. It is not possible to explain the origin and changes of the former corps, with more fidelity and exactitude, than in the words of the historian of the English army, (*Grose*, vol. ii. p. 203.)

"Immediately after the restoration, Charles the Second raised a regiment of body-guards, the simple troopers of which were gentlemen, who had addicted themselves to the profession of arms, and had followed the part of his father during the civil war. As they almost all of them belonged to considerable families, they obtained privileges similar to those of the *garde-de-corps* of France, whose organization served as a model for theirs. These privileges continued long after the regiment had ceased to be composed of the same class of men. This, of course, rendered them a body of high pretensions, and, as often happens in similar cases, of little use, calculated for show or parade, rather than for actual service."

These disadvantages, and the excessive charge, resulting from the primitive organization of the body-guards, being evident, the privates were disbanded towards the close of 1788. George the Third preserved only the skeleton of officers.

A new corps, composed almost entirely of recruits, was then organized, and placed very nearly on the same footing as the rest of the cavalry. It received the appellation of Life-Guards; and in thus losing its old title of body-guards, had no longer the shadow of a pretext for claiming the same absurd privileges.

Until 1788, the body-guards had a pay more than triple that of the dragoons; at present a life-guardsman only costs eightpence a-day more than a common trooper.

The new corps is at this day one of the finest in the army. It forms two regiments, with each eight troops of forty-three rank and file, officered in the following manner:

1 Colonel.	8 Cornets.
1 Lieutenant-Colonel.	1 Adjutant.
2 Majors.	1 Surgeon and Assistant.
8 Captains.	1 Veterinary Surgeon.
8 Lieutenants.	

The corps which immediately follows the Life-Guards is the regiment styled the Horse-Guards; it is similarly composed, of eight troops of forty-three men, and is officered in the same manner as the Life-Guards, except that it has three lieutenant-colonels instead of one.

The troopers of the two corps are distinguished by their uniform, their stature and their pay. The Life-Guards are clothed in scarlet, the Horse-Guards in blue: the men of the first must be at least six feet high, the others need not exceed five feet ten inches; and they receive threepence a day less than the Life-Guards.

Although some of the regiments of heavy

dragoons bear the title of dragoon-guards, they differ in nothing from the other regiments of dragoons, neither in pay nor in service, and form no part of the guard properly so called.

Infantry of the Guard.

There are three regiments of Foot-Guards. The first is a regiment of Grenadiers, constituted of three battalions, thirty-two companies, and 2,560 rank and file. The two other regiments, composed of the common description of infantry, reckon each two battalions, twenty companies, and 1600 men; so that the infantry of the guard amounts altogether to 5,760 rank and file. Each regiment is commanded by a colonel and lieutenant-colonel, with a surgeon-major and a solicitor; each battalion by a major, with a surgeon and his assistants; lastly, each company by a captain, two lieutenants and an ensign. Let us briefly trace the history of the royal guard of England.

Charles the Second, on being recalled to the throne, directed his attention to the means of disbanding the army, as soon as he landed at Dover in May 1660. He was seconded in his views by the Parliament, who wished to relieve the nation from the burthen of a heavy military establishment, and who saw in the troops the same corps which, under Cromwell, had ex-

pelled the two houses, shamelessly violated every liberty, and persevered in opposing obstaclesto the establishment of the civil laws. The army, *en masse*, was disbanded, except some corps of small strength, but of tried fidelity,* with whom the monarch surrounded his person; these he shortly augmented to five thousand men. Thus, at this period, there was no other army than the guards of the Sovereign. The parliament saw with alarm all the military force placed, without counterpoise, in the hands of a prince who dared to promise Louis the Fourteenth the subversion of the representative government. The Commons petitioned Charles to disband the forces, of which he had formed his guard, in order to lessen the excessive expenses of his household to a degree less disproportioned to the condition of the public finances: this request was refused. The Commons passed a bill for the exercising of the national militia in the different counties during six weeks in every year; the King refused to assent to the bill. It was then that the House of Commons, awakened to the magnitude of the danger which threatened the public liberties, pronounced that celebrated resolution, which afterwards became, at the

* For instance, the regiment of Monck, which is now the second of the Foot Guards.—*Author.*

revolution of 1688, the basis of the military law: "That a standing army maintained about the throne, without the consent of parliament, is, not only in itself illegal, but dangerous to the liberty of the citizen."

From that moment, Charles the Second resolved to destroy the constitution.—He was not obliged, like Cromwell, to enter into the midst of a Long Parliament, and violently expel the members by force of arms; he had only to pronounce the legal dissolution of the existing Parliament; and he never summoned another.—He then enjoyed peace and the pleasures of despotism during the residue of his days—levying taxes with arbitrary authority, to squander them in luxury, and prostitute them in debaucheries; more confident in the effects of the punishment of the most illustrious citizens, and in the terror of the arms by which his palace was environed, than in the love and respect of free and happy subjects; rooting up all attachment to the Stuarts, from the hearts of men, he devoted his cares to clear away every obstacle to the expulsion from the throne of his successor and his dynasty.

James the Second went yet farther than his predecessor; he augmented by degrees the force paid from the civil list to thirty thousand men; and he fell.

The soldiers of the Guard have preserved their high rates of pay, and the prerogatives granted to them by Charles the Second, because the revolution of 1688 was effected without any effort on the part of these troops, who were the hopes of tyranny, against the forces of William.—Carried away with the torrent of public opinion, they recognized the new dynasty without striking a blow.

The high pay of the soldiers of the Guards, and the superior rank held by the officers in proportion to their regimental commissions, occasion in the English army a deep jealousy; which would be dangerous, also, among any people where private combats were considered as the path to a military renown, worthy only of gladiators; as the means of satiating hatred and vengeance, or, to use the terms of the art, of washing away the stain of injuries in blood; as if blood, shed in murder, could purify any thing!

Let us be just; notwithstanding their privileges, the officers of all the troops of the Guard, infantry and cavalry, affect little hauteur towards the other officers, and, particularly, towards the citizens.—There is dignity in their air, pride in their step, but scarcely any thing that recals the idea of that insolent and savage demeanor which usually marks the satellites of bad princes.

It is easily perceptible in the mere appearance of these officers, in their decency, their moderation in public places, that they are the citizens of a free country, and respect this proud title in the persons of their fellow-citizens.*

In England there is no corps of engineers and artillery of the Guard, because the whole regiments of artillery and engineers are royal corps.—There is neither train nor park of artillery of the Guard, because every piece of ordnance in the army, as well as the arm of every good citizen, becomes at need the true guard of the prince.—The only corps of artillery in London, is that of the volunteers, who take arms whenever the public tranquillity is endangered.

Lastly, there is no foreign corps in the Royal Guard—the only one which ever formed part of this force, was a regiment of Dutch guards, brought over by William in 1688. But the natural pride of the British; their jealousy of whatever could threaten danger to liberties

* Visit a country where the laws are unknown to you, examine the demeanor of officers and soldiery; if they wear an air of arrogance and pride, there, the Government is stronger than the laws, or the army more powerful than both, and the people are slaves.—In the contrary case of behavior in the military, you will find that the laws command and the government obeys them as well as the army; that people are free.—*Author.*

purchased by so many misfortunes and sacrifices; besides, the simple idea of the propriety of employing Britons in all offices, rather than lavish the treasures, the dignities, and the rewards of the state upon mercenaries drawn from other countries; all these causes made it a duty in Parliament to preserve their inflexibility upon the subject of foreigners.—They therefore declared, First, that all the land forces, in pay, in England, above 7000 men, and these to be taken from the native-born subjects of His Majesty, should be forthwith paid, and disbanded; Secondly, that all the forces serving in Ireland, exceeding 2000 men, and these of the native-born subjects of the King, should be in like manner, without delay, paid and disbanded.

The King, after having made show of an intention to abdicate, to preserve his Dutchmen, was obliged to assent to a bill which was the legitimate consequence of the Declaration of Rights.—He at once disbanded all the foreigners of the different corps which he had brought over from Holland; but he requested that he might at least retain those who formed part of the Royal Guard—He sent a message to the Commons to announce "that preparations had been made for transporting back the guards who had accompanied him into England, and that he would send them away immediately,

unless the House, out of regard for him, would find an expedient of retaining these troops; *which act he should receive with extreme satisfaction.*" But the Commons refused so to do, and there no longer remained any foreigners in the Royal Guard.—A happy experience proved to William, that the stability of his throne depended not, in the slightest degree, upon the support of mercenaries.

The Cavalry.

The Cavalry forms a considerable part of the English army; during the late war it equalled in number one sixth of the infantry.*—In adding to this body the volunteer cavalry of the three kingdoms, the total exceeded eighty thousand men.—And, at the same time, agriculture, far from suffering, made unexpected advances. Great Britain is of all countries of Europe the richest in horses fitted for every species of service. Although France has a territory three times more extensive than the whole of England and Scotland together, the

* General Stewart, in his project of reform in the British land forces, considers this proportion as too considerable, except in case of a continental war; and, as excessive, from comparison of the relative expenses of cavalry with infantry.—*Author.*

number of our horses does not exceed, by above one-ninth, those of Great Britain.*

The following is the comparative table of the numbers of men and of horses in Great Britain in 1804; and of those in France, at a period much subsequent.

	Great Britain.	*France.*
Human Population .	11,000,000 . .	29,000,000
Horses	1,790,000† . .	2,122,617‡

From this statement it appears, that for their wants and their pleasures, one hundred individuals of the human race have, in Great Britain, sixteen horses, and seven only in France; what an immense disproportion!—But the difference is not only in numerical inferiority; among us, the description of horse, proper for war, has degenerated, while in England it is becoming more and more excellent.

It is not two centuries since France possessed the finest horses in Europe. Our cavaliers, in returning from the crusades, had brought the Arabian coursers with them, and perpetuated the race with the utmost care; hence arose a source of lucrative commerce.—But when Cardinal Richelieu compelled the powerful nobility

* This country and Ireland, united, have more horses than all France.—*Author.*

† Edinburgh Encycl. ‡ Chaptal—Industrie Française.

to quit their feudal residences to crouch at the feet of a master, where they were no longer able to display their pomp and power by numerous trains of gentlemen, the greater part of whom were mounted and armed at their expense, nor to show themselves at the head of their retainers in all the pride of the old chivalry, they neglected the studs which had furnished the chargers for the days of battle or festivity.—The race soon degenerated, and this branch of industry passed into the hands of the English. They have succeeded in forming excellent horses, not only for the purposes of luxury and racing, but for draught, labor and war.

"The superiority of the English horse," says an officer of cavalry, "consists in his power and action—a charger capable of carrying eighteen stone, with more rapidity than any other race of horse, is eminently calculated for war.—Skirmishes may be regarded as amusements, but the mere impetuosity of the charge renders cavalry a formidable arm."

The regiments of British cavalry are remarkable for the extreme care with which the horses are treated—perhaps, even, this care is carried to excess, and ends by rendering animals of remarkably robust breed, too delicate. The corps of cavalry were accused, during the late wars, of rapidly losing their magnificent appearance.

It seems, however, that in the Peninsula, the English horses, when treated in a manner more suitable to war, supported fatigues, which destroyed the far-famed coursers of Portugal and Spain.

These superior qualities of the English horse, preserved by the cares of the trooper, who cherished the companion of his fatigues, almost as fondly as the Mameluke or the Arab; these qualities, I repeat, are the fruits of an attention which has only been recently paid to the improvement of the breed. This circumstance affords us a very striking example, which should excite the emulation of every friend to the public weal, and the national glory.—Since 1815, our studs in France have degenerated most lamentably.

In Great Britain, the equipment of the horse is not less remarkable than the animal itself. The English have been the first to understand that horse-furniture in weight as in volume, should be reduced to its minimum.

The English trooper, so skilful in riding and managing his horse, is far from being equally expert in the use of his arms; in this respect he is inferior to the French dragoon.

The officers of the British cavalry are generally reproached with bestowing too little attention upon the details of their service, and

the duties of their situation. Good general-officers of this arm are, in proportion, yet fewer than the inferior officers. To these different causes must be attributed the little efficiency of the British cavalry, in a crowd of engagements where the infantry covered itself with glory.

Some very honorable exceptions might, however, be cited, in favour of regiments, whose commanders obliged their officers scrupulously to fulfil all the duties of their service. These corps have proved that the English cavalry has all the necessary elements to render it one of the best in Europe.*

There were formerly, in the interior economy of corps, a number of malversations, which the present Commander-in-Chief has swept away. A portion of the ration of the horse is no longer stolen, and the employment of the horses themselves on private occasions has ceased. The abuses of this nature were carried to an incre-

* I should wish to offer, as a pattern, the example of a worthy friend of mine, whose courage is enhanced by his humanity, if he did not compel me to withhold his name; I would cite the instance of that generous colonel who, in one of Wellington's retreats (that of 1812) forming the last of the rear-guard, dismounted his superb regiment to transport, on their horses, the wounded and sick, whom the army had abandoned on their route.—*Author*.

with four horses and two drivers, to a regiment of cavalry.

The arms of the British cavalry do not at all differ from those of other European nations; the sabres which they use are an imitation of ours. Some corps are provided with carabines, made with particular care, and worthy of attention.—The lances are also worked up with the greatest precision; we shall give the details of their fabrication in speaking of the arsenals.

I remarked, as a defence, the epaulette of some of the regiments of cavalry; this epaulette, for the troopers and non-commissioned officers, is a tissue of brass chains very well adapted to resist the cut of a sabre. The enormous chests of padding, which the English cavaliers have adopted in imitation of the Prussians and Russians, might well pass for a cuirass to protect this particular part of the body from the effects of shot.* Several regiments wear a bandage or girdle, a little more than a hand's breadth, round the stomach, made, like a horse-girth, extremely strong, and clasping behind.—Every corps of cavalry should follow this example.

* The author has certainly here full and sufficient reason for ridicule: for no fashion can be more preposterous or unbecoming than the rage for stuffing the human form until it resembles as nearly as possible, the dignified front of a Christmas turkey.—*Tr.*

CHAPTER II.

Infantry.—Foreign Troops.

THE regiments of infantry have only one battalion as a constant nucleus. When additional battalions are created, they are employed separately, and each commanded by its lieutenant-colonel. As to the colonel of the regiment, as we have before observed, he is usually a general-officer, who does not serve with his corps. In the British army, therefore, the battalion is properly the principle of unity.—Two, three, or four battalions, united under the orders of a major-general, form a brigade; two brigades form a division,* of which a lieutenant-general has the command.

Each battalion is composed of ten companies; eight of the centre (termed battalion companies) and two which correspond to the grenadiers and chasseurs of French regiments.—The fol-

* In the Peninsular War, there were three brigades to a division, two British and one Portugueze, with, generally, a brigade of guns attached to them. In the campaign of 1815, the division was composed in the same manner, a Hanoverian being substituted for the Portugueze brigade.—*Tr.*

dible excess—"Prostitutes, kept in the barracks of the cavalry, (says the author of the Regimental Companion, vol. i. p. 240 and 247.) prostitutes were seen driving carriages and four, the horses of which were selected from the best chargers in the regiments."

All the corps of cavalry bear the generic name of Dragoons: but the Dragoons, properly so called, are the heavy cavalry, including of course the Dragoon Guards; they are distinguished by their scarlet uniform, the Light Dragoons by their blue; the former wear the helmet, the latter the shako.—All the cavalry have, for some time, adopted the iron-grey pantaloon; it is the most economical, the least liable to stains, and consequently the best of all colours.

The English have no cuirassiers.* The light dragoons are composed, in the first place, of four regiments of Hussars, of four of Lancers, formed since 1815, and the remainder of simple Light Dragoon corps. The different regiments, each of eight troops, (except the first Dragoon Guards, which has ten,) are composed as follows: viz.

* Since the author's visit to England, the household cavalry have been equipped as cuirassiers; but whether this arrangement is intended as one of service, or of parade only, seems doubtful. —*Tr.*

1 Colonel	1 Surgeon
2 Lieutenant-Colonels	1 Assistant-Surgeon
2 Majors	1 Veterinary ditto
8 Captains	28 Serjeants
8 Lieutenants	8 Trumpeters
8 Cornets	368 Troopers
1 Paymaster	——
1 Adjutant	439 Total.
1 Quarter-Master	

During the war, the average force of the regiments was as high as nine hundred men; some corps among them were even one thousand two hundred strong.

The general of an army, in the field, sometimes forms a corps of mounted guides; that of Wellington, created in 1810, consisted, three years afterwards, of three officers, twenty-eight non-commissioned officers, and seventy-six troopers.

After the cavalry, and as part of it, must be reckoned the Royal Waggon Train, organized a few years ago, and placed under direction of the Quarter-Master-General of the British forces.—In time of war each squadron of cavalry is provided with a forge cart with four horses, and two drivers from the Waggon Train.—This equipage is furnished by order of the Quarter-Master-General, to whom the colonels of cavalry are required to address themselves for all the wants of this species of service.—On the present peace-establishment, there are only two forge-carts,

lowing is the constitution of a battalion of 800* rank and file;—viz:

1 Lieutenant-Colonel	1 Paymaster-Serjeant	
2 Majors	1 Serjeant-Armourer	
10 Captains	1 Schoolmaster-Serjeant	
12 Lieutenants	10 Colour-Serjeants	
8 Ensigns	30 Serjeants	
1 Paymaster	1 Drum-major	
1 Adjutant	21 Drummers	
1 Quarter-Master	40 Corporals	rank & file
1 Surgeon	760 Privates.	
2 Assistant-Surgeons	——	
1 Serjeant-Major		
1 Quarter-Master-Serjeant	900 Total	

In the official returns laid before Parliament, on the force of the troops, the ministry give the strength in rank and file separately from the number of officers, and non-commissioned officers.

It is evident that the battalion which is augmented, in time of war, to eleven or twelve hundred men, is organized so that it may, on

* During the war, first battalions of regiments of infantry were usually on an establishment of 1000, and second battalions of 800 men. On the termination of hostilities, the strength of regiments was first reduced to 800 men, and afterwards still lower. In 1819, when the author wrote, each regiment or battalion had only 650 rank and file, forming, with officers and non-commissioned officers, a total of 746 men; and at present (August, 1821) instructions have just been issued for a reduction of two companies of the ten in every battalion. The number of rank and file, upon the peace-establishment, is henceforth to be 552, and the total, with officers, &c. 650 men.—*Tr.*

the field of battle, sub-divide itself into two distinct corps, each directed by a major, and commanded-in-chief by the lieutenant-colonel, like a regiment of two battalions.

It cannot fail to be observed, in the composition of the regimental staff, that there is a division of powers, and attributes, analogous to those of the staff of the army.—It consists of the following officers;—viz.

1 Adjutant	1 Serjeant-Major
1 Quarter-Master	1 Quarter-Master-Serjeant
1 Paymaster	1 Paymaster-Serjeant

These officers, and non-commissioned officers are charged respectively, and distinctly, the first, with instruction and discipline; the second, with provisions, clothing, quarters, fuel, and the matériel generally; the third, with payment of the regiment.—These are divisions of extreme importance, and well calculated to obviate much abuse and much oppression.—We would here remark also, as useful regimental institutions, those of armourer and schoolmaster-serjeants. We shall have to notice this last non-commissioned officer again, in speaking of the regimental schools.

One of the most sensible ameliorations in the constitution of the British army, has been that of rendering the situation of non-commissioned

officers sufficiently above that of the men, to destroy in the former the necessity, and even the inclination, of mingling with the privates, in their pleasures or debauchery. The corps of non-commissioned officers is become more and more respectable—proud of their title of officers, it may be said that in general they assert their claim to it, by the dignity of their appearance, the regularity of their conduct, and the firmness of their command.

But the institution of colour-serjeants, above all, merits our fixed attention; their creation is recent, bearing date in 1813 only,—it appears to be calculated to excite the most useful emulation among the non-commissioned officers; it became the more necessary in the British army, because the non-commissioned officers in that service have less chance than elsewhere of attaining commissions, and receive no decoration of any military order as the reward of splendid actions. The general order of the Commander-in-Chief, which announced to the army the institution of colour-serjeants, deserves to be known.—We will give an abridgment of it.*

"In consideration of the distinguished ser-

* For the precise words of the original order, of the sixth July 1813, upon this subject of the appointment of colour-serjeants, see *Regulations for the Army*, pp. 386. 388. *Ed. June* 1819.—*Tr.*

vices of the non-commissioned officers of the army, and with a view to extend to the infantry the encouragement and advantages enjoyed by the non-commissioned officers of cavalry, the Prince Regent, in the name of His Majesty, directs that, in all regiments of infantry, the services of which are not limited, the pay of the serjeant-major shall be increased to three shillings per diem, and that of one serjeant per company, to two shillings and four-pence.—These serjeants are to be distinguished by a badge of honor, of which they may nevertheless be deprived at the discretion of the colonel or officer commanding the regiment, or by sentence of a court-martial.

"These privileged serjeants are to be termed *colour-serjeants;* they will bear, above their chevron, the honorary distinction of a regimental colour, supported by two sabres crossed. When under arms they will constantly take post round the regimental colours; in other respects they are to fulfil all the duties of other serjeants.

"The Commander-in-Chief recommends to colonels the utmost circumspection in the choice of colour-serjeants.—He trusts that this honorable title will constantly be given to men of tried valor; distinguished by their attention in fulfilling the duties of their station, and

maintaining discipline in their respective companies.

"The Commander-in-Chief addresses himself to the non-commissioned officers themselves—he appreciates their meritorious services; he is persuaded that, under the direction of their officers, they have, by their individual and collective efforts, largely contributed to raise the character of the British army to the degree of eminence which it has at present reached.—The Commander-in-Chief has real satisfaction in seeing such services graciously recognised and rewarded.

"It is reasonable to hope that the reward thus presented to merit, will serve as an incentive to every soldier—it is within the reach of all who have hands and hearts to serve their King and country.—It is offered to the young as well as the old, it is the price of honesty, of sobriety, of fidelity, of personal bravery.—The Commander-in-Chief trusts that this reward will excite, more than by any other means, the non-commissioned officers of the British army to persevere in conduct which has procured for them this honorable mark of the munificence of their country, and of their Sovereign."

A higher price might doubtless have been set upon this admirable distinction for non-commissioned officers, by rendering it more

difficult to bestow, and more difficult to withdraw.—But this is not the place to examine the nature and effect of military rewards and distinctions.—We are here only considering the situation of colour-serjeants as a rank in the army, and it appears to us an invention of the happiest kind.

Light Infantry.

Among the regiments of infantry of the line there are several which are styled regiments of Light Infantry;* they are distinguished by the green feather, and by a bugle horn, instead of a plate, in front of their cap.—In other respects, of organization, service, and pay, they do not appear to differ from the other regiments of foot.†

The only one which presents an exception to this remark, is the Sixtieth regiment, composed of Anglo-Americans and foreigners. It bears the title of "Royal American;" and in time of war

* These are eight in number at present.

† This is expressed in rather too unqualified a manner. The battalions of Light Infantry in our service are certainly not so distinct from other regiments of infantry in their clothing, equipment, training, &c. as would seem advantageous; but they do differ from other corps, because, besides the customary manœuvres and exercises of the infantry, they are practised to light movements, skirmishing, &c.—*Tr.*

has as many as six or eight battalions, with a proportionate staff. It is particularly destined to colonial service.

A brigade of light infantry, distinct from those already alluded to, and bearing no number in the line, is that of riflemen, called the Rifle Brigade. It is composed of battalions which do not differ from other corps of foot, in pay, number of officers, strength in non-commissioned officers and soldiers, &c. This brigade of riflemen are clothed in a sort of green hussar jacket. We shall have occasion to speak more in detail of this corps when we come to treat of exercises and arms.

Foreign Troops.

We have already noticed the determination with which the parliament prevent the Sovereign from maintaining foreign mercenaries in arms during a period of peace. During war, however, they sometimes permit the monarch to receive foreigners under the British standard, limiting, however, the duration of such a concession, (vide acts of 44th, 49th, and 55th George III.)

In 1812, the ministry incorporated, into the 10th Light Dragoons, a certain number of Germans, who had been taken prisoners from the French service. The parliament instantly took

the alarm, and the warmest discussion arose upon this employment of foreigners in the national ranks. "To mingle, in the same regiment, foreigners and Englishmen," cried a General Tarleton haughtily, "is to blend the baser metal with pure gold and silver. Let the government retain in their pay as many foreigners as they will, but let them leave them the title of mercenaries." "It was the pride of Lord Chatham," said a second orator, "that having found the army filled with foreigners, and having expelled them all, the result proved that he had thus powerfully raised the hopes and the honor of the country."

The ministry, unable to resist such attacks, proposed that there should be laid before the House, a return of all foreign officers and soldiers incorporated in British regiments. This return caused it to be seen, that among 200,000 British soldiers, there were only thirty-one officers, and three hundred and ninety-three soldiers who were foreigners: the latter being, for the most part, men of colour, belonging to bands. I dwell upon this fact, because it is believed on the continent of Europe, that the national troops of Great Britain are in great part recruited by mercenaries.

The English, with more reason, prefer purchasing complete corps of foreigners, at a price

fixed according to circumstances. Thus, the troops of Brunswick, of Hesse Cassel, of Darmstadt, &c. were hired out to England during almost all the wars of the French Republic. In forming these military treaties, the King of Great Britain never forgot the interests of his mercenaries of Hanover.

In the last war, General Mortier having compelled the Hanoverian army to lay down their arms, upon condition that they might retire into England, an Act of Parliament authorised the residence and service of these troops in the British dominions. They formed a complete corps of themselves, under the name of the "King's German Legion." This legion, 16,000 strong, was composed of cavalry, infantry, and artillery.

Not contented with taking into pay, during the war, the troops of other powers, the English ministry raised corps of foreigners in the countries of which they held temporary possession, and in the colonies. By these means they had formed in the course of a few years, Sicilian and Greek regiments, Maltese military artificers, &c. Lastly, they used every method, in Great Britain itself, to enrol prisoners of war.

And here let us render a brilliant homage to the generous patriotism of the French prison-

ers! Notwithstanding the severity of their imprisonment in desert and savage districts, in the midst of the rocks of Scotland and Devonshire, or in the hulks, on board of which they were crowded with the utmost barbarity, they suffered every privation with unbending firmness; and deriving consolation under their misfortunes from the idea of their country's triumphs, they repelled with indignation the offers which, in most circumstances, were made to induce them to bear arms against their fellow-citizens.*

* This passage, in the original, is one of those sacrifices to the taste of a certain party in France with which the author occasionally seasons the commendations in general so liberally bestowed by his candor upon our national institutions and measures. I have usually, in this compressed translation, omitted such ebullitions of political declamation, wherever they appeared "not germain to the matter' of his book; and to be, for the most part, merely intended for the gratification of his countrymen, of the "Liberale" cause, at the expense of their adversaries, the Ultras. But this tirade is of another character, and has been literally translated, that its falsehood might be exposed. It is, at least in England, a fact of notoriety that no such attempt was ever made by our government to enlist natives of proper France from the prisons into our foreign corps, and that, so far from it, strict injunctions were given to reject all offers of service from prisoners, unless it should distinctly appear that they were not Frenchmen. Germans and Italians were allowed the opportunity of serving among their countrymen in our pay, and none others. The French captives, there-

But, when the mania for conquest had misled the French government, a crowd of aliens, forcibly dragged under our colours, and become prisoners in England by the chances of war, eagerly embraced the opportunity of taking arms against the conquerors of their country. It was thus that were formed the first and second Italian regiments, the Calabrese free-corps, &c.

Such succours, though important, were far from being as numerous as was generally supposed. At the very moment when there were the greatest number of mercenaries in the service of England, they formed hardly one-tenth of the grand total of her forces. It is, further, erroneous to imagine that the English reserved all these foreign troops to compose the armies which they destined for the most dangerous enterprizes. For instance, in the expedition to Portugal in 1808, the foreign corps formed

fore, had no room for the display of their generous patriotism in the frightful wilds of Devonshire!

So little is the charge of barbarity towards French (or any other) prisoners of war, merited by this country, that every possible regard was paid to their comfort and health. That, with respect to French officers, the error in British treatment of them was on the side of liberal indulgence might, without difficulty, be proved by returns of the numbers, who availed themselves of it, to effect their escape, at the expense only of their *parole d'honneur*.—*Tr.*

only a seventh of the whole force. The government preferred, when they had the option, to send them to the unhealthy garrisons of their transmarine possessions; to suffer the mercenaries to perish without honor, while they reserved for the national troops the chances of battle, the glory of triumphs, and the profits of conquests.

What a vast difference between this profound depth of policy, and the imprudent conduct of that Carthage, whose national forces were, in the midst of her foreign mercenaries, but as a select platoon in the ranks of a numerous regiment!

There must, then, have been gross ignorance, or rather wilful misrepresentation, in those men who, during the last wars, endeavoured to deceive us by representing the British armies as motley hordes whom the genius of a Hannibal alone could retain in their ranks, and conduct by stratagem to victory;* they

* It is amusing to be admitted behind the scenes, and discover the mode in which it has been attempted, in France, to account for the successes of the British in the field, with the least possible mortification to the national vanity. The conquerors of the Imperial armies were not the islanders of Britain, but a heterogeneous mixture of all the people of continental Europe, whom the genius of another Hannibal could alone hold together, and lead to victory! But that Hannibal would himself

needed not so famous a general for the purpose.

Table of Foreign Troops in British Pay in the year 1813.

		Men.	
CAVALRY.			
Dragoons of the German Legion,	2 regiments	1,812	
Hussars, ditto	3 ditto	2,718	
Hussars of Brunswick Oels	1 ditto	677	
			5,207
INFANTRY.			
German Legion	10 battalions	11,377	
Brunswick Infantry	1 regiment	1,371	
Meuron's ditto	1 ditto	1,339	
Roll's ditto	1 ditto	1,605	
Dillon's ditto	1 ditto	1,469	
Watteville's ditto	1 ditto	1,604	
Chasseurs Britanniques	1 ditto	1,603	
York Light Infantry	1 ditto	1,600	
Corsican Rangers	1 ditto	1,602	
Sicilian Infantry	1 ditto	1,351	
Greek Light Infantry	1 ditto	1,131	
			26,052
General Total of Foreign Troops			31,259*

The whole annual expense of these merce-

be the first to reject the invidious praise. The splendid column of his glories needs not such a wreath to adorn its capital, as malice would thus tear from the brows of his brethren in arms. —*Tr.*

* A trifling addition should be made to this number, for the German Artillery, and Corps of Foreign Artillery, which the Author has accidentally omitted.—*Tr.*

naries was £959,952: 14*s.* 11*d.* or about (taking the average) £30: 14*s.* 2*d.* per man.

In comparing this table with the charges for the national troops in the same year, it appears that a foreigner costs £2: 10*s.* 5*d.* more than an English soldier to the government. It was not therefore from motives of economy that the government took foreigners into pay, as some would persuade us; but merely because the voluntary enlistments in Great Britain could never keep pace with the prodigious augmentation of the British forces during the last wars.

But Britain has never placed much reliance upon mercenaries. Experience has convinced her that, with few exceptions, these troops are still, in our days, of the same character as the bands who ravaged Italy instead of protecting her, and of whom Machiavel has given us a picture at once masterly, frightful, and exact, as if it had come from the pencil of Tacitus. We shall extract the following statements from the "Narrative of Poole," and the "Inquiry of Macdiarmid into the System of National Defence of Great Britain."

"In 1794 and 5, the corps of Roll, of Dillon, &c. were formed of German deserters and French emigrants. The Austrians frequently

sent detachments of cavalry to the English camp to recover their deserters. By this means, and yet more by *re-desertion*, five regiments, raised at great expense in all Germany, melted down into a single battalion. This remaining wreck was conducted with great care as far as the Lake of Constance; where the Austrians, in one of their customary researches, carried off forty-five men from the grenadier company alone: they still, in contempt, left behind several soldiers too well disguised, or too unfit for the service, to be reclaimed."

"The usual precautions against desertion proving insufficient, the serjeants had orders to take away the shoes of the recruits every night, as well as the most indispensable part of their clothing: this was without effect. As soon as victory declared itself for the cause of the French Republic, the French soldiers, who had been enticed under the emigrant colours, repassed the Rhine, and returned in crowds to their country. Several corps having scarcely as many soldiers as officers, the commanders and their subalterns all deserted together shortly after they had received the price of their engagements. At length, the desertion of mercenaries was so great on every occasion, that the foreign soldiers, and even their officers,

(when they were sent to the colonies) went over to the maroon negroes, rather than remain in the British service."*

I am only here considering the efficacy of such troops. If I were to expose particulars connected with their expense, I should startle even those who are best acquainted with the malversations carried on by the leaders of mercenaries. The English ministry were so well informed upon these points, that they always kept back a moiety of the sums which the colonels were supposed, by their own accounts, to have expended on recruits. In the charges for clothing, the ordinary reduction was from two-thirds to three-fourths on the bills of commandants who were incessantly augmenting their profits, and who were styled in derision "*colonels accumulative*."† I shall be satisfied with recurring to the work, already quoted, of Macdiarmid, in his chapter upon "Foreign Succours." He relates (p. 287) a singular anecdote of an emigrant general, who being called upon by an English inspector to render account

* Poole, pp. 9, 15. Macdiarmid, p. 279.

† The phrase used in the original is "*colonels cumulards.*" As I can find no standard expression to give the same idea in English, and am unacquainted with the cant term which the author has thus rendered into French, I have been obliged to take a slight liberty with the epithet employed.—*Tr.*

of about one hundred thousand pounds of advances, coolly replied, "that he would account to no one but the King his master." The army of this general on being mustered in review order, presented a grand total of one hundred and sixteen officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers.

"The principal motive of a government," Macdiarmid forcibly observes, "for introducing mercenaries into its dominions, is its repugnance to trust arms in the hands of its subjects. This repugnance is proof infallible that such a government is oppressive, and that it has just cause to dread the vengeance of the slaves over whom it tyrannizes. A man fears no evil from the friend whom he cherishes, and has attached to him by numerous favours. It is the enemy whom he has insulted, injured, calumniated, that he fears to meet in force, and against whom he seeks for protection. In the same manner, no Prince has fears of a people whom he seeks to render happy. When his subjects are armed and prepared for action, he feels himself in security, for he knows their arms will only be employed for his defence. But when a government treats its citizens with oppression and outrage, it will tremble as long as a means is remaining for the revenge of such injuries. In the bosom of happiness and

liberty, did Athens, Sparta, or Rome ever fear to confide arms to the hands of their citizens? Far otherwise! They were exhorted and accustomed to the practice of military exercises that they might defend their country without entrusting her safety to mercenaries. Turn, on the contrary, to the aristocratic despotism of Venice, not only preferring to endanger provinces by confiding them to Condottieri, but even abandoning them without resistance, rather than put arms into the hands of the population of Venice. The nobility had at least the hope of preventing the entrance of their mercenaries into the city, but they trembled lest the people, once armed, should lay prostrate their power, and means of oppression. Behold Louis the Eleventh, that model of the tyrants of modern Europe, disarming his subjects to secure his despotism at the hazard of weakening his kingdom below its natural strength. His successors also, constantly encircled by Swiss guards, could not believe themselves in security among twenty millions of subjects. But what avails it to cite so many examples? To disarm subjects, and employ foreign mercenaries, has ever been the jealous policy of tyrants, and of tyrants alone."

Colonial Forces.

I have already said, that the English, to guard their national troops from the ravages of unhealthy climates, sent as many foreign corps to the colonies as it was possible to obtain for such service. But European mercenaries were not sufficient for the ever increasing wants of immense possessions. The most numerous foreign corps, the German Legion, and some others besides, served under the express stipulation that they were not to quit Europe, a condition which very much limited a resource that the British government would soon have exhausted. They were therefore reduced to the necessity of adopting other expedients; and they had recourse to the same plan of recruiting their American forces, as the colonists had followed for three centuries to supply their plantations with labourers. It was resolved to raise corps of blacks in America, and upon the coast of Africa. It appears, that in 1805, before the abolition of the slave-trade, the government concluded a bargain with some merchants for the purchase of five thousand African negroes between the ages of sixteen and thirty years. Before this, there had been already raised six West India regiments amounting to rather more than 5,000 men. After the new levy the force of negro troops was as follows:

Eight West India regiments	8,992	In all 10,106 men.*
One Royal African Corps	1,114	

In the estimates laid before the House of Commons, these corps are considered as national troops, placed after the regiments of the line, and paid on the same footing.

When the slave-trade was solemnly abolished by the British parliament, it became necessary to resort to other measures than a direct purchase of men, for the recruitment of the black regiments. A major for the recruiting service was therefore dispatched to the settlement of Sierra Leone on the African coast, with money, clothing, &c. for the Africans whom he might enlist, and presents to the African chiefs of the surrounding country. These presents, to obtain permission to recruit *gratis*, have some resemblance to the bargains which are concluded by Europeans with the haughty Pashas of Asia, who are too proud to sell any thing to Christian princes; but they *give* them the objects desired, for which an equivalent present is *given* in return.

The recruiting of blacks in Africa is dependent upon the Commander-in-Chief, for the direction of the operations of the service, and upon the Secretary at War for its expenses.

* The whole of this force is now reduced to two West India regiments, composed of about 1,600 men.—*Tr.*

The minister of war and colonies has no connection with any of these details.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Militia.

The militia is the only armed force, which is truly national in England. Its origin is traced to the reign of the great Alfred, by whom it was made subservient to the delivery of the country from the Danish yoke. It is, in fact, a force essentially defensive; and should be adopted by every people, who are enemies to conquest, and jealous of their liberties.

The successors of Alfred had neither his genius, his courage, nor his activity. In their hands, the Saxon government rapidly declined, institutions lost their vigour, and the state was ruined. A conqueror, skilful, profound, and dissembling, full of talent and valor, undertook the usurpation of the throne of England. He succeeded, and to found his empire more securely, changed at a blow the system of civil and military laws. He established the feudal customs in all the purity of the monarchies founded by the Goths, the Huns, and the Vandals. The indigenous families being once stripped of their patrimony, their lands were

allotted in great fiefs to the barons, the bishops, and the abbots of the conqueror; and parcelled out by these chieftains to their officers and soldiery; annexing to their rent, the obligation, *in perpetuo*, of military service on the summons of their feudal superiors.

Notwithstanding the progress of knowledge, the perfection of industry, and the division of property which thence arose, the military system of feudal tenure was not wholly abolished in England until the time of Charles the Second. This was almost the sole benefit of a bad reign. From that period, a new organization of militia was requisite in place of the feudal array. Proprietors were divided into separate classes; the most wealthy were required to furnish a horseman with his arms and equipment, those of less substance, a foot soldier with his arms.

Charles was careful to procure from the parliament, a guarantee of the most absolute power over the national militia. The nation had just escaped from a despotism, the excesses of which had been caused by the usurpation of military power from the crown by the parliament, and afterwards from the parliament by the army; it was therefore believed that too great an authority could never be conceded to the sovereign, and his subjects rushed into the

contrary extreme from that which they had just escaped. Such is the course of revolutions.

The happy period of 1688, which set bounds to the power of the Prince over the formation of a regular army, fixed no limits to his authority over the militia; because the parliament had no fear of this force being rendered an instrument of despotism. Owing to the charges which, under the law of Charles the Second, pressed heavy upon the wealthy and middle classes, and to the little probability which offered for a long time of any descent of an enemy upon England, the institution of the militia fell more and more into neglect.

In the Highlands of Scotland, a barbarous country, where, even at this day, the English language is with difficulty understood by a small number of the principal people, the feudal militia was preserved down to the middle of the last century. It served to form the army of the Pretender. There can be no doubt that, if, at the period of the rebellion of 1745, the national militia had been in strong organization, the Pretender could never have penetrated into the heart of Great Britain, and endangered the constitutional monarchy. In the same manner, in 1815, with a national and powerful French militia, a regular army of

reduced numbers, but treated with respect, and no feudal guard between the throne and the people, the incalculable disorders might have been prevented, which accompanied and followed the "Hundred Days."

But to return to the English militia: it was only in 1756 that the dread of an invasion caused serious attention to be bestowed upon the restoration to efficiency of this important branch of the public force. It was ameliorated by degrees during the reigns of George the Second and George the Third. Under the first of these princes, the force of the militia was fixed at 37,740 men; it has since been considerably increased. The duration of the service of a militia-man, which was originally three years, was increased to five by the Act of the 26th of George the Third. Formerly, also, the militia of Great Britain, and of Ireland, could not, under any pretext, be sent out of their respective kingdoms; but at the epoch of the rebellion of 1799, an Act of Parliament suspended a restriction, so hurtful to the defence of both countries, in favor of such of the English militia as should volunteer to pass over into Ireland; and, finally, in 1811, this sort of barrier, which limited the services of the militia to particular parts of the three kingdoms, was made to disappear for ever.

In reflecting upon these different measures, it will be apparent that they have all had for their object to give, by degrees, to this kind of force, an organization more military, and better adapted to the defence of all parts of the empire.

The law which regulates the militia system is worthy of deep attention; its preamble, such as it is found in the statutes of 1802, discovers to us the idea of the legislator; it runs thus: "Whereas, a respectable military force under the command of officers who possess a property in the soil of the country, is essential to the constitution; and, whereas, the militia as by law established, always in readiness to render effectual service with the least delay, has been found of the utmost importance for the interior defence of the kingdom," the King, with the advice and consent of the Lords and Commons, &c.

Let us analyse this law. Great Britain is divided into counties, in which the defensive force and conservation of the public peace are confided to men of high birth, and great fortune, having their property in the province, where they exercise their authority, under the name of lords-lieutenants; their functions are gratuitous.

Each lord-lieutenant chooses deputies, to

second him when present, to replace him in case of his absence. He presides over the formation, instruction, and disbanding of the militia; he directs their movements and operations, through all the extent of his county. He names the officers; but that his choice of them, and of the deputy-lieutenants, may be valid, it is necessary that in the fourteen days which follow the presentation of his nomination to the privy-council, they shall not have been disapproved by the Sovereign. The appointments are then published in the London Gazette. The functions of lord-lieutenant are filled in his absence by three of the deputies authorized by the prince. There must be at least twenty deputy-lieutenants for a county, if it is possible to complete that number, fulfilling the conditions prescribed by the law. The following incomes from landed property constitute eligibility to the different ranks in the militia.*

	Counties of the First Class.	*Counties of the Second Class.*	*Cities.*
Colonel	£1000	£600	£300
Lieutenant-Colonel	600	400	
Major	400	200	
Captain	200	150	150
Lieutenant	50	30	30
Ensign	20	20	20

* The presumptive heir to a property, the income of which is double those mentioned, is equally eligible to the respective commissions.—*Author.*

In counties of the second class, less wealthy than the others, smaller incomes are required of militia officers. In cities erected into counties, the eligibility is not founded on territorial property alone; it is sufficient to have any property altogether equal in value to twenty times the income mentioned in the above scale. In the other counties, this compensation is only admissible for the lower ranks.

Every peer and his presumptive heir can obtain all the ranks of the militia, without being obliged to prove their property; this exception is wise and natural. What landed fortune could engage a plebeian to preserve the constitution, with as much interest as the property of the peerage? The militia is therefore a force essentially preservative of constitutional liberty and property.

The counties are sub-divided into districts, entrusted, with regard to the militia service, to the deputy-lieutenants inhabiting them.—Yearly, on the Tuesday preceding the tenth of October, a general assembly of the county is required to be held, to consider the affairs of the militia. This assembly must be composed of at least two deputies, and the lord-lieutenant; or, during his absence, of the three deputies who represent him. These assemblies are also convoked at such other periods as circumstances may require.

The assemblies of sub-divisions have, for their object, the execution of the decisions of general assemblies, and are composed of, at least, two deputies, or a deputy and a justice of the peace.

We have now to speak of the mode in which the levying of the militia is carried on. The statute of 1802 regulates the force of this service at 40,963 men.—It gives to the King the power of changing this amount, and of establishing the contingent of counties at his pleasure. But these innovations can only be made once in every ten years, according to the fundamental act which authorizes such changes.

In each county, the lord-lieutenant and his deputies, in general assembly, establish the contingents of sub-divisions. At the day appointed, the municipal magistrates receive from the lord-lieutenant, and notify to all heads of families, an order to prepare and produce, within a fortnight, a list of names of the males of their families, between seventeen and forty-five years of age; with a statement, in the margin, of the reasons upon which any of them plead an exemption from militia service. One month afterwards, the magistrates must be prepared with a general list of the individuals of age for service, their rank, professions, and objections.—This list is affixed to the doors of

parish churches, as well as a notice of the assembly of sub-division appointed to judge upon these objections, to hear information against wilful or fraudulent omissions in the preparatory lists, &c.—The decisions being made upon the general list of the sub-division, it is closed; signed by the deputies at the time; addressed by the secretary of the sub-division, to the secretary of the general assembly; and, by him, forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, to be laid before the privy council.—In a second assembly the deputy-lieutenants make the division of the contingents of the respective parishes in the sub-division.—In a third meeting, they proceed to the drawing from among all the men between seventeen and forty-five years of age, not comprised in the list of those excepted. A surgeon examines the men that are drawn, and upon his report, they are rejected or received without further delay.

By the terms of the law, the militia man must profess the Protestant religion, swear to bear true allegiance to the King, and to serve with fidelity, during his five years of enrolment, to assist in the defence of the kingdom.

Peers, the military of all ranks, the resident members of universities, ecclesiastics, masters of chartered schools, magistrates, apprentices to

any art, mariners, and labourers in maritime trades, are exempted from the ballot; and, lastly, such of the poor as have more than one legitimate child: every individual may even be rejected from the rank of a simple private soldier, if he has not one hundred pounds sterling of property. The Quakers refusing to bear arms upon a religious principle, there is authority for replacing them, if it falls to their lot in the ballot; but, as they refuse also to pay for the substitution, upon another religious feeling, the law prescribes that their property shall be seized for the purpose, and this mode is effectual in producing payment.

In a country where the spirit of association applies to every want, to all extraordinary circumstances of business and life, as it does in England, this application has been even extended to the procuring of substitutes for the militia. To be exempted from the ballot, some men insure themselves with companies, while others form a club to defray, at their common expense, the charge of procuring substitutes for such of their members as are drawn to serve. In these cases, the substitutions take place by voluntary enlistments. The parishes, to avoid the ballot, or, at least, to diminish its chances, have received the power of furnishing substitutes, or men who volunteer to serve. The

parish officers, by the act of 1802, can give bounties for this purpose to the amount of six pounds sterling per man, and tax the inhabitants to discharge this expense, provided the measure be previously consented to by a majority of them.—Such a plan is equally wise and humane, and deserves to be imitated.

The militia are divided into classes, in the following manner;—viz.

Class.	*Age.*	*No. of Children.*
1st.	18 to 30	none
2d.	30 to 45	none
3d.	18 to 45	none, under fourteen years of age
4th.	18 to 45	one, under fourteen years of age
5th.	18 to 45	two or more, under fourteen years of age

When only a part of the militia is called into active service, out of the county, the first class is taken primarily, then the second, afterwards the third, &c.—It is worthy of observation, that, in this classification, the legislator looks only to children under fourteen years of age; he supposes that the others, put out to apprenticeship, have ceased to be a charge upon their parents. No man is admitted as a substitute for another in the militia, if he has more than one child.

The replacing of militia-men, who have completed their five years of service, is effected annually, under the forms which we have described, on the 20th of November.—When there

are vacancies to be filled, which have been caused by the death, by the invaliding of militia-men, or by any other cause, the deputy-lieutenants must make a new ballot in the parishes of such men. It would be more simple, as in France, to summon the individuals who, by their number, immediately follow those drawn in the first ballot.

In an operation so complicated, so important, as that of enrolments for the militia, personal interest will try every possible mode of eluding the law. This the legislator has foreseen, in fixing the penalties and fines for all contravention of the statutes, all frauds, committed by the candidates for the militia, or by the magistrates, the proceeds from such fines serve to pay for substitutes, whether for the community, or for persons who have illegally absconded from the service, and evaded all pursuit.

The counties being very unequal in population, some can furnish several regiments, others, with difficulty, a few companies.—In the first place, companies are formed, in each county, of not less than sixty, nor more than one hundred and twenty men, commanded by a captain, lieutenant, and ensign. A regiment cannot have more than twelve, nor less than eight companies. If, however, the militia of a county cannot form a regiment, they are made to com-

pose a battalion, of from four to seven companies: but in counties, where even such a battalion cannot be collected, a small corps of three companies is raised; these bodies are thus commanded—

		Col.	Lieut.-col.	Majors
A large regiment of 800 men, or more,	by	1	1	2
A small ditto, or a battalion } of 420	by	1	1	1
A small battalion of 240	by	0	1	1
Three companies of 180	by	0	1	1

If three companies cannot be formed in the same county, an independent company is created of not less than one hundred and twenty men. The King can, at his pleasure, unite these independent companies of different counties, to form battalions or regiments.

Officers of militia only take rank after all those of the same grade in the regular service; by their nomination they obtain no permanent employment, and when disbanded receive no half-pay.*

Each corps of militia has a surgeon, a quarter-master, a paymaster's-clerk, and an adjutant, who must have, at least, five years of service to reckon.—This adjutant can hold the rank of

* There is an exception to this assertion, as far as relates to the subalterns, who do receive a trifling half-pay. The adjutant and a portion of the non-commissioned officers are always retained on full-pay, though the regiment may not be embodied. —*Tr.*

captain, whatever may be his property. The following proportion is fixed for the composition of companies ;—viz.

	Effectives.	*Non-effectives.*	
Soldiers . .	20 . .	30 . .	per serjeant and corporal
Drummers .	3 . .	2 . .	to a flank company
Ditto . .	2 . .	1 . .	to a battalion company

A serjeant of the line who has retired, may serve in the militia with his rank, and retain his invalid pension at the same time.—Twenty years of service in the militia, with the rank of corporal or serjeant, convey a right to a pension.

In each county, the arms of the un-incorporated militia, the uniforms of the men, in a word, all the matériel of the corps, is deposited in a spot determined by the commandant, with approbation of the lord-lieutenant.—There the serjeants, corporals, and drummers must reside under the eye of the serjeant-major and adjutant, who every month addresses a state of the non-commissioned staff present, to the commanding officer of the corps, another to the lord-lieutenant, and a third to the Home Secretary of State.

Since the year 1803, the militia, who were formerly exercised only twenty-one, have been made liable to twenty-eight days of training in the year.—In each county, the lord-lieutenant

and his deputies, in general assembly, determine the time and place of embodying the militia, subject to the approbation of the government. Their orders are then transmitted to the assemblies of sub-division, and by the latter to the municipal magistrates, who give immediate notice to the militia-men of their respective parishes.

When a corps of militia, after any active service, is disbanded, the King can direct that during the twelve months which follow the disembodying, the militia-men of that regiment shall not be subjected to the annual training.—When the militia are assembled for this purpose, or for any extraordinary service, they are subject to all the penal provisions of martial-law, and to the articles of war; but they also, from the moment that they present themselves at the rendezvous of exercise or incorporation, receive the same pay, and enjoy the same advantages as the troops of the line.

In case of actual invasion, or danger of invasion, in all circumstances of rebellion and insurrection, the Sovereign can order the incorporation, without delay, of a whole or a portion of the corps of militia, to send them to any part of Great Britain. If the Parliament is sitting, the King must previously communicate to both Houses the cause of this measure; if it occur

during a prorogation, the resolution of embodying the militia must be made in the responsible council of ministers, and notified by a proclamation. IN THIS LATTER CASE, THE KING MUST ASSEMBLE THE PARLIAMENT WITHIN FOURTEEN DAYS, AT THE UTMOST, FROM THE DATE OF THE DAY OF EMBODYING.

The Sovereign has not only the power of summoning the whole of the militia to arms in case of rebellion or invasion; he can also augment their force by one half, and levy what is termed the *supplementary militia*. But the Sovereign must then also direct the meeting of parliament within, at most, fourteen days after the new call to arms.

We may here remark, that the appointment of a member of the House of Commons to a commission in the militia, does not vacate his seat, because an officer of this service is the special servant of the country, and not of the prince. Every militia-man, who is an elector, has the right of going to give his vote at elections for the House of Commons, without any one having the power either of punishing him for so doing, or of opposing obstacles to his absence from the regiment at such a juncture. This measure is indispensable; for without it, a great number of officers and soldiers of the militia being electors, the ministry, by regu-

lating with address the time and place for embodying the militia, might acquire a most mischievous influence over elections.

Every militia-man is exempt from statute-labour for the repair of roads. Every married man, who has served in the militia during the time prescribed by law, may exercise all the mechanical trades, even in towns where the corporations have exclusive privileges.

Such are the principal provisions of the Act of 1802, in which were united all the most advantageous enactments of former laws. In a country where the municipal administration was more uniform, and the division of territory less disproportioned, such a legislation might have been rendered much more simple, its operations more easy, and its execution more rapid. But although the mass of regulations for the militia are far from being perfect, they appear to merit the profound attention of statesmen, and of the legislators of countries where public liberty is an object of estimation.

In 1803, the government being desirous to complete the skeletons of the militia with the utmost dispatch, the power was given to the lords-lieutenants of placing, in default of officers of the required property, old captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, who had retired from

the land-forces and marines, in the same ranks of the militia. This tended to render the regiments much more military.

In order to encourage service in the militia, the King, ten days after the declaration of war against France in 1803, sanctioned an act which prescribed the most humane measures in favour of the families of militia-men, when summoned to the colours of their respective regiments. Twenty days after the same declaration of war, a second act provided the most effectual means for preserving the different corps of militia in complete strength of numbers. A third act ordained that all mariners, enrolled in the militia, should be restored to the sea service. By the combination of these laws, a greater supply of men was procured for the navy without weakening the militia.

According to the act of 1802, and conformably to former statutes, the enlistment of a militia-man into the regular army was forbidden, the militia-man so offending, punished with six months imprisonment, and the person who should enlist him, whether officer or not, condemned to a fine of twenty pounds. But, in the month of April, 1805, the government, to augment the regular forces, obtained an act of parliament to permit the militia-men to engage in the regular service, for the more

vigorous prosecution of the war. This act limits the number of such enlistments; it sanctions the maintenance on active service, and with full pay, of the officers of the militia whose companies, battalions, or regiments might be reduced in consequence of the diminution in numbers of the militia; and lastly, authorizes the disbandment or consolidation of such corps of militia as should become too weak by volunteering into the line.

The ballot for the militia, which had been suspended for two years while that force was over complete, was established again in 1807. Then a new act of parliament allowed three-fifths of the militia to enrol themselves in the line. Lastly, in 1808, the militia were divided into regular and local forces. The former, assimilated by its duration of five years service to the troops of the line, is always under arms during a war; the latter, reserved for the interior service of counties, and being assembled only for a few weeks of exercise during the year, can only be incorporated in the event of rebellion or invasion; it forms the national sedentary guard.

CHAPTER IV.

Fencibles and Volunteers.

William, the Conqueror, who, with his Normans, could only govern the Britons by disarming them, and exerting the strong curb of the feudal system to restrain their freedom, destroyed the fine establishment of Alfred for a national militia. The successors of William, whenever they would summon the indigenous inhabitants to defend their government, used no other preliminary formalities than the simple expression of their pleasure. On occasions of internal rebellion, or foreign invasion, if the monarch judged it requisite to assemble a larger force than the feudal array, he gave orders to the sheriffs of counties to get on horseback; to ride, day and night, through their respective districts, and to proclaim every where on their route, a levy of all men between sixteen years and sixty in condition to bear arms. It was enjoined on these conscripts, named *defensibles,* to repair to the army of the King with the least delay, with arms of a species and price proportioned to the value of their property; and that *under pain of loss of*

*life, of limb, and of every thing else which it was possible to lose.**

Thus, under the admirable reign of feudalism, a simple writ of the Sovereign was sufficient to direct a *levy en masse* of all serfs from sixteen to sixty years of age!

This despotic power of the Anglo-Norman monarchs fell by slow degrees before the legislative authority of the parliament; and the corps of fencibles, whose name recals that of slaves conducted by force to war, are, at present, troops levied by voluntary engagement, at the charge of some wealthy individual, for the purpose of aiding the public defence in case of rebellion or invasion. These corps terminate their service, by right, on the return of peace.

The first corps of this nature, was the Argyle county regiment, levied in 1759, to serve specially in that county only. Other regiments were raised in the same manner, by voluntary enrolment, in 1778 and 1779, at an epoch when the war with the American colonies assumed an aspect altogether unfavourable to Great Britain, and caused her to fear an invasion of her domestic dominions by France.

In the war with the French republic, twelve

* Grose's History of the British Army, vol. i. p. 66.

regiments of fencibles were levied, whose services might be extended to the three kingdoms, and even beyond them. They were of great utility in the rebellion in Ireland, which preceded the union of that country with Great Britain. In the same war, twenty-four regiments of cavalry, and seventeen of infantry, enrolled voluntarily for defensive service only, offered to bear arms in any part of the British empire.

The colonels of fencibles are the proprietors of their regiments, which they levy and organize, in many instances, at their own expense. They select the officers who are to serve under their orders; but, that this choice may be valid, it must be submitted to the King, and not disapproved of by him. The fencible officers rank with those of the militia according to the date of their commissions.

During the war with the French empire, companies of volunteers were formed, specially destined to the guard and service of the batteries on the coast. These companies, which received the name of sea-fencibles, were levied in the maritime counties. From the places of their habitation, they were at hand on the spots where their services might be required imme-

diately on the attempt of an enemy to effect a landing.

Since the last war, regiments of fencibles have no longer been levied in Great Britain. There are not more at present than two or three in America; they constitute the defensive force of Canada, and of some other colonies, and may rather be considered as a local militia than corps of fencibles.*

Volunteers.

In times of public danger in Great Britain, numerous bodies of the citizens take arms, and organize themselves into corps of volunteers. When they take the field, or are charged with any post of defence, they pass immediately under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. In ordinary cases, however, they are under authority of the Secretary of State for the Home Department; their charges and expense enter into the department of the Secretary at War;

* The author is here under a misapprehension. The fencible regiments raised in the North American colonies during the late war, approached very nearly to the character of regular troops. They were enlisted to serve during the war in any part of North America, and their officers ranked with those of the regular service. They were quite distinct from the embodied and sedentary militia of the Canadas.—*Tr.*

their arming is entrusted to the Board of Ordnance.

The lord-lieutenant of each county commands the volunteers, as well as the militia. It is through him that communications pass between these troops and the different branches of the ministry. He names the officers, subject to the approbation of the King. The levy and formation of troops or companies, of battalions, and regiments, are also under his direction, and that of his deputies.

Yeomanry Cavalry.

The volunteer cavalry, composed of the wealthy country gentlemen, and principal farmers, who are, in general, electors of the county members, and consequently have the rank of yeomen, is known under the name of the yeomanry cavalry. Organized at the period of the war with the French republic, this force has never been broken up, and continues during the peace, in readiness to march at the first summons. This corps renders services equally numerous and varied. In time of war it fulfils all the military functions of our *gens-d'armerie*, the escort of prisoners and deserters, &c.; it has not however the duties of the civil and criminal police, which our *gens-d'armes* execute with the

sabre. A constable, with a small staff in his hand, is, in England, sufficient to perform this part of the judicial service. The yeomanry cavalry, which might, in the event of invasion, render incalculable service, is also singularly well calculated for the maintenance of the public peace. It is, above all, useful in the manufacturing provinces, where the great and unexpected revolutions of commerce, by suddenly creating a frightful extent of misery, urge the wretched workmen, who are deprived of all means of existence, to have recourse to arms to obtain what their industry and their supplications cannot procure—sufficient wages to support their families.

The parliament, in providing the funds for the support of the non-commissioned staff, and for the other indispensable charges of this body, has very frequently seized the occasion of such votes to testify how highly it approves of an institution as useful in periods of peace as of war. In the estimates of 1819, the expenses of this corps amounted to above £120,000. Upon this subject, the select Committee of Finance say to the House of Commons: "Your committee of 1819 agrees entirely in opinion with that of 1818, upon the important services of this description of force; it considers that any sum, intended to render such services more and more effica-

cious, must be deemed well employed." It may farther be remarked that the army estimates which are so precise in stating the exact force of every body of regular troops, do not even give the grand total of the numbers of the volunteer cavalry.

All troopers of the yeomanry must provide their horses at their own charge. But they are exempted from the tax for keeping them. They are never paid as soldiers, except when called out by authority to perform some extraordinary service. Every corps of yeomanry cavalry, having three troops of at least forty men each, is commanded by a field-officer, seconded by an adjutant, or a serjeant-major, according as the regiment is stronger or weaker than 300 troopers.

There are transmitted annually, to the commanding-officers of yeomanry corps, two pounds sterling per trooper for clothing, and two more for other expenses.

The yeomanry cavalry are obliged every year to meet for exercise for a certain number of days gratuitously. When a corps wish to exercise for a longer period, if the government approve of their so doing, each trooper receives a daily pay of two shillings for himself and one shilling and fourpence for his horse.

Volunteer Infantry.

The volunteer infantry form regiments, battalions, and companies to serve as troops of the line, and as light troops. They are in some cases also organized as artillery. They are assembled for exercise for twenty-six days in the year; during which period they are paid like the regular forces. They clothe themselves at their own charge; but, during the late war, some districts assessed themselves to provide the uniforms of the poorer classes in the volunteers. The government allowed six shillings and eightpence annually per man to the commanding officers of corps for the expenses of storing, preserving, and cleaning the arms, and other military effects. The arms and ammunition were supplied by the ordnance department.

A body of volunteer infantry having more than 250 rank and file is commanded by a field-officer, assisted by an adjutant and serjeant-major. Every corps of less strength has only a serjeant-major to second the commanding officer.

To every squad of twenty volunteers, there is a serjeant and corporal, with two drummers

per company; they are only paid when the volunteers are called out.

In 1803, the first consul of France assembled on the heights of Boulogne, the veterans of the republic, the conquerors of all the powers of the continent. At sight of the danger, the population of Great Britain rose like an individual. On the 18th of May, war was declared; on the 11th of June, an Act of Parliament directed the lords-lieutenants of counties to prepare a general list of males, in condition for service, from fifteen to sixty years of age, inviting those who were not already in the militia, to arm for the defence of the country.

In a few months, all the counties, all the towns, the great corporations, even the universities,* formed, armed, clothed, and disciplined their regiments of infantry, of cavalry, and of artillery. The young emulated those of maturer years, and the youth of the richer classes rivalled the sons of the less opulent in ranging themselves, like them, in the military ranks. Thus, on the 9th of December, when the French flotilla had scarcely begun to assemble at Bou-

* I saw in the theatres of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, suspended from walls consecrated to the peaceful study of science, letters, and law, the standards of the regiments of volunteers which had been formed of the students, at the period when an invasion was threatened.—*Author.*

logne, England, exclusive of her regular troops, had accepted the services of 592,629 men! to-wit,

Volunteers . .	474,627	officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers
Army of Reserve	34,162	ditto . . ditto.
Militia	83,840	ditto . . ditto.

At the period of this admirable impulse, the greater part of the professional military appeared as furious opponents of the system of militia and volunteer troops. They affected a sovereign contempt for national forces, commanded by officers, the greater part of whom had never served their apprenticeship to war in presence of an enemy. A regular army, a permanent army, as numerous as possible, and even a little better paid than possible, appeared to them the sole guarantee for the safety of Great Britain. The military works, published at the epoch in question, are full of these errors. Let it be granted that the militia and volunteers could not have acted, at the opening of a war, with the union, the coolness, and the intrepidity of soldiers who had grown old in the service, enured to fatigues, and familiarized with the dangers of warfare. But, on the other hand, it is not always true that a force of regular troops, however numerous and well-disciplined, will be, even then, an army

more formidable and better calculated to resist the first shock of a war. I appeal to the capture of Ulm, and the battle of Jena. If, then, a nation confide entirely in its regular army, and that such a force, enervated by a long peace, experience a signal defeat, the evil is irreparable, and that nation is conquered. But, history affords no example of the conquest, by a regular army, of a people who had risen *en masse*. It was the national armament of volunteers which freed Holland from the yoke of the Spaniard; which liberated Swisserland from the Austrian dominion; which emancipated the United States of America from the power of England; and, lastly, which averted from the French republic the subjection with which it was threatened by the potentates of Europe.

The Spanish forces were merely volunteers, on the general insurrection in that country in 1808. These national guards, supported only by 40,000 British soldiers, made head against the best troops* in Europe, and concluded by triumphing over them.

I would now propose one question only, to all the general officers, who evinced themselves

* We may surely here make the same exception to their superlative quality of excellence, as was made one hundred years ago, in favor of the soldiers of that nation, by whom these "best troops in Europe" were beaten.—*Tr.*

most inimical to the volunteer system, to Sir Robert Wilson, General Stewart, &c. I would ask, whether, supposing the French had passed the Channel, and invaded England, do they imagine that the militia, the volunteer infantry, the yeomanry cavalry of Great Britain, seconding the regular army which was destined by fortune to combat us in Spain and Portugal, would have possessed less energy than monks and guerrillas? Do they imagine that the national guards of a free country would have aided their own regular forces of the line less vigorously in defence of a revered constitution and sacred establishments, than did the soldiers of the Cortes, fighting beside foreign standards, to restore the ancient *régime* of Spain? If they reject such a supposition, why did these general officers, who never doubted the possibility of liberating Spain, almost despair of the defence of their country if confided to the valor of the British volunteers? I am far from suspecting their patriotism and their loyalty; but it must be apparent, that, carried away by their strong attachment to the profession of arms, they erred in being able to discover no safety for their country, but in the soldiery, and, above all, in the officers of the regular service.

Here let us render homage to the talents of

Mr. Pitt, doubly conspicuous in his love of his country, and hatred towards France. It was his profound policy to favor by every possible method, the combined systems of militia and volunteer organization. These levies summoned all classes of citizens under the banners of the country; excited military ardor; and exalted, even to enthusiasm, the desire, the eagerness to resist an enemy, who became the less dangerous to England, in proportion as she formed a more serious and just calculation of the preparations and efforts which would be requisite for the repulse of the assailant.

BOOK IV.

ADMINISTRATION OF WAR.

CHAPTER I.

Secretary at War.—War Office.—Accounts of the Army.

The Secretary at War, who is the responsible minister of military expenditure, can make no innovation, unless with consent of the Commander-in-Chief. His commission prescribes to him obedience to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, as transmitted with the approbation of the Sovereign. But, should these orders be contrary to law, or in violation of the rules of the service, should they but include a single alteration in expenditure, the Secretary at War must, in the first instance, explain the legitimate objections, refer them to the Lords of the Treasury, and act only with their approbation. Thus, the Commander-in-Chief has all desirable influence, to enable the financial executive to combine, in the best possible mode, with his measures for the well-being of the army; but he has no power sufficiently arbi-

trary to alter and destroy, at his will, regulations founded on law, or on the dictates of a long experience.

The seat of the department of the Secretary at War, is styled the War-office. The secretary can change its organization; appoint or displace the head or subordinate persons in it; he can even augment their salaries at his pleasure, a power, which, in many cases, appears to have been abused. The deputy of the Secretary at War directs and regulates all details, that there may be uniformity and precision in the dispatch of business. A "first clerk" is entrusted with the superintendance of the labors of all the other clerks. These two posts of deputy-secretary and first-clerk, long exercised by the same person, are now distinct, and confided to responsible individuals of much experience.

It was the more requisite to render permanent these secondary places, because in a constitutional government, like that of England, the ministry is subject to changes equally frequent and unforeseen. In these changes, the new Secretary at War finds his immediate deputies capable of instructing him in the established routine of office, of placing the train of affairs under his view, and supplying his inexperience during this kind of ministerial education.

When, in France, we shall comprehend the machinery of a representative government, we shall fill the second place in every department of the ministry with men, not subject to removal, without political pretensions, and limited in their career to the constant superintendance of the technical labors of office. Until we do this, we may hope in vain for any stability in the system and operation of our public service.

The War-office is divided into three great departments:

First Department, for General Affairs.

Establishment of 1808.

Offices.	*Principal Clerks.*	*Assistant Clerks.*	*Common Clerks.*
1. General Affairs	1	1	3
2. Registry and Copies	1	1	11
3. Estimates	1	1	2
4. Promotions	1	1	1
5. Volunteers	1	1	4
6. Registry and Delivery of Commissions	1	1	0
7. Different Accounts	0	1	2
8. Printing, Delivery of Forms of Accounts	1	0	2
Total*	7	7	25

* There are besides to be included, two private secretaries for the minister and his deputy, two clerks for widows' pensions, one for routes for marches, one for deserters, one for regimental states, two for deductions made by virtue of the income-tax.—*Author.*

To this division is attached a solicitor to direct all the litigations connected with the War-office. This situation is of importance, and gives five hundred pounds per annum to its possessor.

In all the branches of the British ministry, there is in like manner a solicitor to direct proceedings, wherein the public interests are at variance with those of individuals. This is the more necessary, as the common law is altogether traditional, and forms a labyrinth which professional lawyers can alone explore. Therefore the lowest citizen, if he can secure the rules or even the forms of the law on his side, may prosecute the most powerful minister, and cast him in the suit, without needing the good pleasure of the government. It is on this account, that in England, as in old Rome, as in every country where those entrusted with power may be brought to justice the instant that they violate the laws, the study of jurisprudence becomes part of political education, and leads through all the walks of administration, to the highest dignities.

Second Department, of Accounts.

(This department is directed by a chief examiner, who receives orders from the Secretary at War only.)

Establishment of 1808.

Offices.	*Assistants to the Examiner.*	*Assistants to the Assistants.*	*Common Clerks.*
1. Accounts anterior to 1798	1	1	3
2. Current Accounts	1	1	36
3. Correspondence	1	1	2
4. Accounts in Arrear since 1798	1	1	9
Total	4	4	50

In comparing this organization of the War-office, with what it was ten years before, there may be observed a great increase and some strikingimprovements. The offices are divided on a more methodical plan, and rendered more complete. Every head of an office has, besides, been rendered responsible for the conduct and punctuality of his subalterns.

Third Department, for Foreign Troops.

(Created in 1796; suppressed at the peace of Amiens; re-established in 1804.)

Establishment of 1808.

Two Chief Clerks, One Accountant, Eight Clerks.

Up to 1808, and for a long time afterwards, there had been no change in the hours and duration of labor at the War-office. Will it be believed that the persons employed in it were obliged to be present only five hours per diem? They were not merely exempt from employment on Sundays; but, when the parliament were not

assembled, a part of the clerks had a holiday on the Saturday, which reduced their work to twenty-five hours a week. One cannot, after this, be astonished that in all the official reports upon the business of the War-office, the parliament and ministry constantly complained of the insufficiency of the number of clerks, although that number was continually on the increase during the two last wars. However, if the clerks only labored during so limited a time, they were at least in their offices during the whole of it. At a quarter before eleven in the morning, they were required to sign a list of their presence, and to be at their desks when the clock struck eleven. If a clerk committed a breach of this punctuality, he was, for the first offence, reprimanded; the second time, he lost a week's emolument; the third, two weeks', and so on. The same punishments followed an unnecessary absence during the hours of duty. Let no one disdain these details; they are far from being unworthy of the attention of statesmen.

With clerks, employed only five hours per diem, there was no provision for the least increase of business. Whatever labor fell into arrear was performed by task-work, for which the clerks were paid as extra hours. They had even permission to take such work

home with them to their own dwellings. It is evidently a false principle to employ in this manner clerks already paid by the day; it is a premium for them to work as slowly as possible during the regular hours. It would be preferable to follow the French custom of rewarding them, after any extraordinary and pressing labor, in proportion to their trouble and zeal. From 1798 to 1807, the total sums paid in the the War-office for the labor of extra hours, amounted to £18,992.

The annual salaries are in evident disproportion to the time devoted by different individuals to the service. The minister is the only one who is not overpaid.

	£.		£.
Secretary at War	2,480.—	His present Deputy	2,580.
Ex-deputy and Chief Clerk	3,200.—	(This no longer exists.)	
Senior Clerks from £1900 to	£700.—	Their Assistants	£450.

With regard to the junior clerks, a new mode of paying them has been adopted since 1803. They receive, for the first year, £90, after which their salary suffers progressive increase until, at the end of twenty years' service, it amounts to its maximum of £250 per annum. This augmentation of salary is reserved for clerks to whom no promotion of office is given, whether from their possessing too little zeal and intelligence to merit it, or that there is no op-

portunity for their advancement. By this practice, talent and stupidity, activity and idleness, are equally rewarded. It is the worst of principles to adopt, and yet it is become general in the administration of Great Britain, a circumstance, which has, beyond all doubt, been one of the causes why the public services are more ruinously expensive than in any other country. Let us now proceed to examine the receipts and expenditure of the War-office.

When an individual is nominated to a civil or military employment, or receives any promotion, he pays to the office which delivers to him his commission, a certain sum called a fee; the tax required by offices upon the delivery of every settled account or agreement is likewise styled fees, and, lastly, by a special practice in the War-office, one guinea was retained for every hundred pounds sterling issued, by order from the office, under the same appellation of fees. These fees, which were very considerable in time of war, produced enormous emoluments for some of the clerks. In 1796 a single individual netted above £18,000 by his situations.* This abuse became too flagrant to be longer endured, and upon recommendation of the select committee of finance in 1797,

* See Sixth Report Military Inquiry, p. 289.—*Author.*

the king decided that the fees hitherto paid into different departments of the War-office, should be thenceforward received by the first clerk, and formed into a general fund for defraying the expenses of the office.

From 1797 to 1802, these funds were sufficient; but from the following year the expenses became much more considerable. It was found necessary to demand, in the annual estimates submitted to parliament, an additional sum, which continued increasing until the late peace. Since the year 1807, the lords of the treasury have required of the Secretary at War, that he shall neither change nor, above all, augment the pay of any individual, without having previously made to them a formal and detailed proposition for the same. It is only after the assent of these lords has been obtained, that the Secretary at War is to address the Sovereign for his approbation, or the parliament for their sanction of the measure proposed, according as the nature of the case may require the concurrence of one or other of these supreme authorities.

The commissioners of military inquiry proposed with great reason (Sixth Report, p. 300.) the entire suppression of those fees, which were a source of inevitable abuses, and to discharge the expenses of the War-office entirely

from the public treasury. This recommendation was approved of by the House of Commons in June, 1808, and in December of the same year, the government hastened the abolition of a system of which the reform had been suggested. Those fees only were continued, which were payable on certain promotions and appointments, and could not be re-imbursed from the public treasury; but it would have been preferable to suppress even them.*

Accounts of the Army.

The current accounts of the army are dated from the 25th of each month. The financial year commences on the 25th of December; on the 17th the Secretary at War transmits to the Paymaster-General, an order signed by the King, to deliver to the regimental agents the sums specified in an estimate, for the service of the first month of the new year. A little before

* Throughout all this chapter, in which the establishment of the War-office is given as it stood in 1808, it is necessary to remember, in order to form a correct estimate of the present peace organization of the office, that there have been very great reductions. To enter into a detail of them would be tedious; but it should, in justice to the mode in which the business of the War-office is conducted, be remarked, that there is no department of the state in which more anxious exertions have been made since the peace, to diminish the national expenditure.—*Tr.*

the termination of every fresh month, the Secretary at War addresses to the Paymaster-General a similar return for the expenses of the following month, calculated from observation of the actual disbursements of that preceding. The Paymaster-General remits to the agents a little more than the funds absolutely necessary to answer the anticipated charges, in order that the service may not be impeded by the impossibility of satisfying unexpected and pressing wants.

The regimental agent, a sort of banker chosen by the colonel, is supplied by him with a power of attorney, to receive from the public treasury all the funds granted for the service of the corps, and to issue these funds to the paymaster of the regiment, the clothier, who provides their uniform, equipment, &c. The agent is the medium between the regiment and all the public offices. It is to him that the corps address themselves to demand, receive, and forward arms, clothing, equipment, &c. for them; and he is, moreover, the man of business and banker of all the officers, whose personal interests, both public and private, are attended to by him.

By means of a regimental agent, the receipt, application, and transmission of the regimental funds, as well as of the matériel of the corps, can

be executed with the simplicity and dispatch of a business of commerce. Such a system is highly advantageous, both to the corps and to the individuals composing it; but it has the inconvenience of being too expensive. It has been several times proposed to unite all regimental agencies into one general agency for the whole, directed by government, and not by brokers. It has only been put into practice for the volunteer corps; and since its establishment in 1803, when there were nearly 400,000 volunteers to arm; and the expense of their branch of the service amounted in one year only to £1,600,636.; the agency has never cost, one year with another, more than £3670 for the whole of the volunteer corps.

Before 1803, the charge of special agency for the volunteer regiments was enormous; it was raised as high as 2½ per cent. on the expenses of pay and clothing; this is much more than it has cost since the establishment of the general volunteer agency. Nevertheless, at so reduced a rate, the business has been much better performed, and altogether carried on in more harmony with the service of the Commander-in-Chief's office and the department of war. For this we have the testimony of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry.

By following, with the regular troops, the

system so fortunately adopted for the volunteers, more economy, more uniformity, responsibility, and simplicity, would have been introduced into the service. But in England immense efforts are requisite for the rooting up of the slightest abuse, or reform of the worst institutions. Every thing in that country is so firmly established, that it is next to impossible to overthrow institutions, which in themselves would be incapable of standing, but are consolidated by a thousand connexions with others equally excellent and immoveable.

As to the security which the old system affords, when an agent becomes bankrupt, the colonel who chose him remains, it is true, responsible for the sums which that agent may be indebted to the government; but if the colonel is a man of no property, the government must lose whatever it has advanced. With regard to other inconveniences, it must be evident to every man, who is even slightly acquainted with military business, that accounts, whose revision offers incredible difficulties to the War-office, would be attended with much less, if, instead of being prepared by a great number of trading agents, whose principal object is to dispatch their affairs with little trouble and delay, the same operations were entrusted to a public agency with undivided attention. By skilfully

parcelling out the labor, so as to confide the same details without interruption to the same persons, and in the most simple forms; by regarding dispatch as of less moment than the care of executing business with perfect order, it would follow, as it ever must in operations founded upon numerous calculations, that a deliberate method would attain the desired ends in the least possible time; because there would rarely be a necessity for retracing former steps for the laborious correction of errors, the inevitable result of precipitation.

The execution of the proposed system of accounts was not followed up as it might have been. The negligence and disinclination of inferiors, and the incapability of superiors, more and more augmented difficulties which might easily have been arrested in their origin. In 1796 it became necessary to establish a new commission of inquiry into the extent of disorders in military accounts, and the best method of terminating them.

In 1780, an epoch when the Parliament of England displayed most eloquence and patriotism, a commission had been created to examine into the abuses and obstacles to the progress of business, existing in all the financial departments. Its particular care was directed to the revision of military accounts; and many amelio-

tions were accordingly proposed on the subject of regimental accounts, several of which were adopted by Parliament.

Up to the year 1797, paymasters of regiments were military officers, capable, like all others, of promotion. It was found that they bestowed too little attention to their financial duties; and they were made civil officers, receiving orders direct from the War-office. A personal security of £2000 sterling, and two other sureties in double that sum, were besides required of them. Regimental paymasters were at the same period ordered to muster their regiments thenceforward, once in every month, in place of the musters formerly made every six months by deputy commissaries. In 1800, it was discovered that the greater part of the new paymasters performed their duties very ill, and gave in accounts which it was always difficult, and sometimes impossible, to check. In 1797, the Secretary at War had been obliged, that the current service might not be shackled, to entrust the examination of all accounts, anterior to that date, to a special office; and in 1803, when the war recommenced, the arrears of the six preceding years had again become so considerable, that he was necessitated to create another new department for the settlement of the accounts of that short lapse of time.

Notwithstanding this triple system of examination of two offices for arrears, and one for the current service; notwithstanding the successive augmentations in the number of clerks, the accounts have been continually falling into arrear. The chief examiner of accounts, in a memorial drawn up on this subject in 1805, without being able to discover the point of difficulty, is satisfied with stating, "that no method could be found of rendering the examination of accounts more rapid and regular in its progress; whether it was that the number of persons employed had never been sufficient, or that they wanted skill, experience, or application; whether the accounts were of a nature to require, in the examiners, more capacity than they generally possessed, or than, perhaps, could be expected in any individuals by whom it was possible to replace them." From which it follows, that in 1805, it was regarded in London as impossible to arrive at a regular management of the accounts of the British army.

The difficulty of examining these accounts may be traced to the number of general and particular allowances, of which the pay of the soldier is composed; granted during one period, suspended at another; or, permanent in themselves, but varying in amount at every moment with the prices of commerce; and also to

the yet greater number of special disbursements, which must be certified by papers that are often wanting, or informal. When to these difficulties are added others, proceeding from the affairs of regiments serving, in their tour of duty, in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, in America; leaving here and there detachments, sick, and wounded, it will be seen that, independent of all disorders, it is really no easy matter to keep regular and complete accounts of the annual expenses of each corps, and to discover a variety of petty embezzlements, disguised with more or less artifice.

In 1803 and 1804, the prospect of invasion threw the British government into a convulsive activity. A number of new corps were created, and the old regiments doubled or trebled. The accounts of regiments became more irregular than ever, and the examiner of these papers declared, that he had found them in such confusion, that he could not even say in what they consisted, or wherein they were deficient. At the same period, in France, on the contrary, notwithstanding her numerous armaments by land and sea, there was established a remarkable degree of order, which had been, for a long time previous, entirely unknown in her military departments. But it must be confessed that the French conscription spared an immense

number of accounts, alike multiplied and irregular, which necessarily attended the charges of recruiting in Great Britain. Originally the expenses of recruiting were included in regimental accounts; but they are at present discharged by district paymasters, independent of any corps; this is a striking improvement in the military administration of England.

We shall not enter into the details of accounts both complicated and tiresome, and offering no interesting fact. It is our endeavour to exhibit the general character of the British system of government, and not its lesser features.

According to the old method of keeping accounts in the War-office, the same clerk examined the whole of the annual accounts of a regiment. But putting aside every other objection to this arrangement, was it not possible, in many cases, to corrupt this secondary examiner? On him depended, without any further check, the allowance of very considerable sums.

The present system, of passing the accounts through many hands in the War-office, was put into action before it had been sufficiently matured, and before even it had been completely determined upon. Arrears in the accounts commenced, therefore, before all the necessary regulations for their management had been pub-

lished. By operating this financial reform piecemeal, by changing the instructions to paymasters and agents several times over, as well as those for the War-office itself, numerous sources of uncertainty and irregularity were opened. To this should be added, that the first instructions, to work this new reform, were ill digested, imperfect, and subject to a thousand practical inconveniences. Lastly, the method laid down for the revision of accounts at the War-office was too minute, and by far too complicated.

Since the period of which we are speaking, however, and which was that of the last commission of inquiry, the administration of war has been sensibly ameliorated. In the endeavour to discover means sufficiently powerful to prevent peculation, and at the same time simple enough to be practicable, a nearer and nearer approach has been made to the solution of the problem. It appears that, since the year 1813, the current accounts have been kept free from arrears, and that the advance is continual in the revision of the old ones.

When all the examinations are finished, a warrant of discharge, signed by the King himself, and countersigned by the Secretary at War, is attached to the definitive account. According as the regimental agent is by this

account in advance, or in debt with the public treasury, he receives or refunds the difference. When the final amount of the expense surpasses the sum specified in the estimates, if the agent has any thing to receive, the account must be approved by the Lords of the Treasury.

The accounts of foreign troops, of temporary duration like those forces themselves, were kept upon a footing different from other charges. In 1794, the English government resolved to take foreigners again into pay. They chose one Mr. Woodford to direct and superintend the levy of a Swiss corps, and of another French one, in the triple quality of inspector, paymaster, and commissary. That this fortunate mortal might be able, at once, to regulate the expenses, pay them, and pass the whole through his examination, that he might have the ability to discharge these multiplied functions, he received £2690: 10s. sterling.

In 1796, a special department was instituted in the War-office for the examination of the expenses of foreign troops; it was suppressed at the peace of 1802, because the greater part of those mercenaries were then disbanded, but re-established in 1804, when they were again summoned to the British standards.

At the period of the military inquiry in 1809, the accounts of foreign troops were not

under inspection of the chief examiner of accounts. The Commission of Inquiry recommended the suppression of the department of foreign troops; it proposed to confide the examination of the current charges for this head to the comptrollers of military accounts, and the revision of old accounts to the arrear department, directed by the chief examiner, who has since in effect been charged with this duty.

During the war a number of places were created, of inspectors, paymasters, agents, accountants, for the administration of foreign troops; this branch of the service was neither conducted with simplicity, regularity, nor economy.

Inspection of Military Accounts.

The inspection of military expenditure is performed by two departments of the treasury, which formed only one before the year 1806.

The Office for Auditing Accounts, analagous to the French Chamber of Accounts, examines the financial calculations of all branches of government, to ascertain their accuracy. In the three first months of every year, the Paymaster-General transmits to the auditors of accounts, the state of his receipts and expenditure. Then the auditors devote themselves to the examina-

tion of the documents which vouch for the employment of these funds, in the different military services. They do not confine themselves to the proof of additions and subtractions. When the head of a department has caused any illegal expense to be incurred, the auditors apprize him of the circumstance, to give him an opportunity of justifying himself; if he cannot do this, the affair is laid before the treasury. If the treasury also judge the charge to be illegal, they simply give an order to the auditors to carry that expense as a debt to the public, against the culpable person. But the latter, thus condemned, may appeal to the Court of Exchequer from such a decision. It is to be observed, that the law thus takes all precautions for security against fraudulent charges, but yet leaves to the accused every opportunity of justifying his conduct, and defending his cause.

The auditors of accounts, to trace abuses to their source, have the right of summoning, as often as they please and whenever they please, all individuals to whom the funds or property of the state have been delivered or confided. If these individuals refuse to appear, they are cited before the courts of justice, to constrain them to furnish all the documents necessary to their justification.

The Comptrollers of Accounts, whose origin is dated in the reign of Anne, confine their examinations to the military services; within these limits they carry their investigations, not only into the balances of funds, merely to ascertain whether the receipts and expenditure are exact and legitimate; but into the administrative operations, to observe whether their system is such as to combine economy, facility, regularity, and security. They have the same power as the auditors of accounts, to compel all accountants in the military departments to produce before them, their returns, their states, their receipts, their ledgers. If they discover that, through malversation or negligence, any part of the public property has been lost, or injured, they estimate the value of the same, to notify the amount to the auditors of accounts, that this charge may be carried against the individual in fault. But, at the same time, all individuals, whose accounts have been settled by the comptrollers, are never obliged to prove the legality of their charges at a subsequent period before the auditors.

The comptrollers and auditors, in order to come at the truth, are empowered to examine, upon oath, the parties interested, as well as all others who can throw any light upon the ac-

counts under question. A false evidence would be punished by the penalties reserved for corrupt and wilful perjury.

In the spring of 1815, the British government sent out a comptroller to superintend the accounts of the army under the Duke of Wellington. The presence of this officer produced an order and economy in these accounts, to that period entirely unknown.

During the course of its labours, the office of the comptrollers apprizes the treasury of such abuses as it may detect, and recommends such ameliorations as appear requisite. This admirable institution, which would be of the highest value to any government, seems to me indispensable under a constitutional system. The legislative powers ought never to discharge the ministry from their responsibility before they have received the reports of the comptrollers of accounts, to enable them to compare them with the employment of the national revenue, certified by responsible ministers. But it would be necessary that these comptrollers held their office for life, and were named by the houses of representatives. It is to be observed, that in England, neither the auditors nor comptrollers of accounts can be members of the House of Commons, and with reason. If they seconded the ministry in parliament, they would be

tempted to palliate the vices of administration; if, on the contrary, they were the antagonists of ministers in the public debates, the spirit of party might provoke them to rigour, which, without ceasing to be just, would become an act of hostility—*Summum jus, summa injuria.*

CHAPTER II.

Department of the Commissariat—Storekeeper-general.

Since 1809, a Commissary-general, resident in London, has had the supreme direction of the Commissariat Department, both on home and foreign service. He is subordinate to the treasury, however, with regard to financial operations, and to the Secretary at War, for those of a military nature. The business of his department has considerably increased since 1797, when the Commission of Military Inquiry reported their labours. The supply and delivery to the troops of provisions, forage, barrack and camp equipage, the matériel of the medical service; in a word, almost the whole of the necessaries to be furnished, which enter into the extraordinary expenses, are under direction of the Commissariat, by whom annual estimates

are prepared accordingly for the parliament, and a monthly estimate for the treasury.

Three months after the close of each year, the chief commissary presents, first, to the auditors of accounts, the financial return of his receipts and expenditure for the preceding year; secondly, to the comptrollers of the army, the state of the receipts, deliveries, and consumption of all the supplies entrusted to his superintendance; thirdly, to the lords of the treasury, the detailed account of the different expenses, of the full and half-pay of persons of his department, as well as of field-works and signal stations.

The commissary-in-chief is required, with the aid of his subordinate officers, to compile exact reports upon the resources of the British territory, with respect to the means of furnishing provision and transport, in order to their being submitted, in one general table, to the lords of the treasury periodically. He receives the orders of these lords, upon the supplies to be sent from home to foreign stations. He is the necessary channel of communication between the ministry and commissariat out of Great Britain, upon official subjects.

In 1805, the commissariat on home service was thus composed:—

Commissary-general	1	Master-bakers	5
Deputies ditto	19	Waggon-master	1
Assistants ditto	25	Ditto Inspector	1
Deputy-assistants ditto	12	Ditto Conductors	2
Central Commissaries *	43	Messenger	1
Clerks	23	Housekeeper	1
Store-keepers	87	Total	221

Expense £41,591 : 8s. 3d.

Since the year 1810, the following have been the ranks in the commissariat department, viz.

1. Commissary-general; 2. Deputy Commissary-General; 3. Assistant Commissary-General; 4. Deputy Assistant Commissary-General; 5. Clerk.

To enter the commissariat service, a person must commence by being clerk; at the end of one year he may become deputy-assistant; in five years, deputy; in ten, commissary. The order of seniority is not made the rule of promotion.

In 1811, the central-office of the commissariat in London cost, in money, £ 8,498 sterling, without taking into account, forage, lodging, and other expenses in kind. These sums were paid in part by the treasury, and the residue by the War-office. About the same period,

* These forty-three central commissaries were placed in the 40 counties (the three Ridings of Yorkshire reckoning as 3), and in the Isle of Wight, to regulate the expenses, and do justice to all demands for indemnities, which might be occasioned by the preparations for internal defence.—*Author*.

the contingent expenses of the central-office equalled the regular personal charges for the same.

There are fifteen foreign stations, forming so many commissariat departments, in which the two classes of persons employed were distinguished into those attached to the matériel, and others to the accounts.*

The Commissariat establishment of the districts of home service cost	£5,872
The Commissariat establishment on foreign stations cost	185,000

We will now speak of the administrative operations of the commissariat, commencing with the home service. All supplies of provisions, forage, &c. for the troops stationed in Great Britain, are made by contractors, after a public bidding. For other articles than these, the commissariat find it more advantageous to enter into a contract at the moment that they are wanted, and for the quantities actually required, than to agree to a permanent contract in advance.

The accounts of contractors, forwarded by them to the commissariat, are there compared with the regimental returns of receipts, certified by commanding officers, adjutants, and pay-

* Since the year 1809, these officers, formerly altogether separated, have formed two sections of the same corps.—*Author.*

masters; and afterwards transmitted to the War-office, to be again compared, with the effectives and distribution of the corps, by the superintendant of the accounts of the army. The agreement of these vouchers suffices, in the first instance, for the security of the government. This part of the inspection of accounts must be executed with the utmost rapidity, that the service may never be shackled. As fast as the charges are thus checked, the contractors, resident in London, being apprized immediately, draw at ten days' sight upon the chief commissary, for the sums that have passed examination.

From time to time, the treasury open a credit for the paymaster-general of the army, at the Bank of England, equal to the presumed wants of the commissary-general; the latter, on his part, pays into the bank, the sums which he receives through any other channel. He makes all payments above five pounds sterling, by drawing upon the bank for each separately; but for less amounts of payment, the bank issue to him sums from £100 to £1000 at a time, and he never demands a fresh issue until the last is expended. This arrangement is simple and rapid.

The commissary-in-chief neither issues, nor has in his charge, provisions nor articles of ma-

tériel of any description. Neither does he keep any account of expenses contracted out of Great Britain; he is only, on these points, answerable by bill. The annual accounts of the commissary-in-chief are, with the vouchers, delivered to the auditors of accounts in the two first months of any fresh period. The final settlement must be closed before the month of September.

As late as 1797, the interior service of the commissariat had scarcely any regular organization; at present, as well as the foreign service of this department, the home duties are regulated by one general system, and under instructions given by the chief commissary; such instructions, however, must have been approved by the lords of the treasury. These lords have reserved to themselves the patronage of the commissariat, that is to say, the right of appointing and promoting arbitrarily to all the ranks of the department; they permit only to the commissary-general to lay before them the names of persons who deserve advancement.

Since the year 1809, general instructions of excellent arrangement have been issued from all branches of the commissariat service, and more particularly for its duties on foreign stations. Reports and accounts are now required to be more detailed and more regularly certified. It

is forbidden, under the severest penalties, to commissariat officers, to enter into any commerce, trade, business, &c.

In the West Indies, instead of having recourse to supplies by contract, the government used to purchase, at the current prices, under the certificates of merchants. Enormous frauds were the consequence, and they were under the necessity of returning to the method of contracts by bidding; the saving was immediate and considerable.

The provisioning of the British army in Portugal and Spain, in 1809 and 1810, was effected by all the means to which recourse could be had, from the poverty of the countries where the army was obliged to act. The greater part of these supplies was made by purchases, entrusted to the commissaries of stations or brigades, and paid with funds issued by the commissary-general of the army. It will easily be believed that there were very great abuses in this nice and difficult part of the service. This may be seen by several orders of the day of the Duke of Wellington, who ever opposed, by all possible means, the malversations of his subordinate officers.

The treasury made all advances of funds to the army in Spain on the prospective estimates of the commissary-general, seen and approved

by the General commanding, and by him transmitted (as a duplicate) to the Secretary of State for war and colonies. Then the commissariat paid their accounts, one moiety in specie, the other in bills upon the English government.*

One source of abuse, against which it is very difficult to guard, arises from the manner in which the treasury bills are converted by the commissariat into the current monies of foreign stations. "In general (say the Commissioners of Military Inquiry, in their ninth report upon the military administration in the West Indies) the drafts have been negociated to the profit of the officer of commissariat; it has scarcely ever happened that the public treasury has been credited with any thing in consequence." To remedy this abuse, commissaries, serving in the colonies in America, were enjoined to offer treasury-bills as an object for public bidding, and to give them to the highest and last bidder. They have always since been sold at their highest value. This method deserves to be followed in many operations of the French military accounts.

* These bills suffered a depreciation of 25 or 26 per cent. which is very extraordinary.—18*th Report Mil. Inquiry*, p. 38.

Storekeeper-general of Military Effects.

It has only been within a few years, that the office of a Storekeeper-general for the commissariat and other services of the army, has existed. We shall show the progress of the administration in this respect.

In the American war, and before it, the equipage, and utensils, and other necessaries for encampment, marches, and existence of troops in the field, were furnished by the colonels who, whatever might be strength of their regiments, received the full value of such stores, for the whole establishment of their corps. Whether used or not, all the field-equipage was renewed at the commencement of every expedition, and the old supplies never demanded of the colonel. In 1787, a sudden and large armament, which did not admit of foresight as to which regiments might be employed, obliged the War-office to have the equipage prepared by one contractor, that it might afterwards be disposed of to such troops as should be ordered on active service: the saving was immense. When the disarming took place shortly afterwards, the contractor proposed to preserve the equipage he had furnished. It was placed in store; and employed in 1792, in the camp of defence at Bagshot. In 1793, though the same equipage was still used,

the colonels were authorized to purchase more for their respective corps. They presented accounts established on the old system, but which were reduced to the prices of the general contractor, when they came under examination at the War-Office. The colonels could not support a valuation by such a standard, and after 1794, they lost this branch of commerce for ever. Here we observe a sensible advance towards a more regular and economical order of things.—How much more, however, did there remain to reform to approach perfection! It was a monstrous circumstance of mismanagement, on the part of government, to leave to the same commercial house, not only the general furnishing of military equipage, without previous bargain, without official receipts; but yet further to confide to that house the charge, sale at second hand, and repair of this equipage. Nevertheless this house, (as it appears by the Military Inquiry, 8th Rep. p. 155.) contented with the fair profits of an immense concern, found, (which is rare,) in the care of its own reputation, a censorship and voluntary control which guarded the public interests. This house so increased its speculations, that it, by degrees, raised itself into condition to complete in advance, and at its own charge, equipage of camp necessaries for 100,000 foot-soldiers and

20,000 cavalry. By this means both the contractor and government had no longer to fear the sudden rise of prices usually produced by pressing and considerable demands.*

In different parts of Great Britain, a great number of depôts for military equipage were established; in 1807, these amounted to one hundred and nine; the rent of buildings for the stores was nearly £5000 per annum, and the value of the materials in them was rated at about £610,000 sterling.

On the representation of the military comptrollers, in place of continuing to the general contractor, the trust of providing and keeping in store the military equipage, the commissariat were directed (in 1808) to put up the contracts to public bidding. The store-keeper-general was then appointed to the charge of the depôts, and preservation and transport of the matériel, of the quarter-master-general's, commissary-general's, barrack-master-general's, and surgeon-general's departments, in a word, to the care of all stores provided for military service. This store-keeper-general is named by the Lords of the Treasury, and receives his instructions, on rules of service, from them.

* This house was that of Trotter; it does honor altogether to the character of the British merchant.—*Author.*

London is the centre of all grand operations. An immense magazine, near the West India Docks, is the place of embarkation and landing for all military effects in charge of the store-keeper-general.*

CHAPTER III.

Pay, Provisions, Uniforms, and Clothing.

The pay of officers and soldiers, fixed by William the Third, after the revolution of 1688, remained without alteration until 1797, notwithstanding the augmentations in price of a number of objects of the first necessity. Thus, while the progress of the arts spread, through almost every class of society, the enjoyment of comforts before unknown, the military were obliged to impose upon themselves increasing privations, which were rendered more painful

* The situation of store-keeper-general has, upon the final peace establishment, been abolished, or rather suspended until a period of warfare may render its re-establishment necessary. The commissariat department of the treasury has, at present, the charge of the business formerly under direction of the store-keeper-general. The depôt for stores is in the Borough. —*Tr.*

by the contrast around them. Their subordination, however, was such, that no tumult, no revolt, scarcely even a complaint betrayed the discontent of the army. They fought and suffered without receiving even that consolation, which is derived from the gratitude of fellow-citizens, and softens the privation of the subaltern officer and soldier. The English populace, who regarded the land forces, only as troops cantoned on the territory of the kingdom, to march at need against its inhabitants, separated themselves still farther from the soldiery, when the system of barracks succeeded to that of quarters upon the publicans.

It was the navy who had recourse to violence to obtain that augmentation of pay, which no silent wishes, nor humble entreaty could procure. Their revolt was itself the strongest proof, that the naval force, so powerful against foreign enemies, is utterly unable to dictate laws to the civil authorities of its country. These authorities were inflexible towards the rebels; it was required that the principal delinquents should be delivered up; and they suffered exemplary punishment. No augmentation of pay was granted to the sailors, until the sovereign power of the citizens over the fleets of the state had been fully re-established.

The troops of the land service obtained the recompense of a fidelity which was never for a moment shaken in the midst of the most critical circumstances of rebellion. This was the epoch of a complete revolution in the administration of war. The pay of the soldier had been formerly divided into a great number of fractions, under the different titles of subsistence, arrears, and allowances for a crowd of particular services. After having calculated the average value of these expenses, and augmented it by twopence, a new rate of daily pay for the soldier was established. The division of the pay of officers of every rank into subsistence and arrears was abolished; the deduction of five per cent. on the pay of all officers, below the rank of captain, for hospitals and agency, remitted, and the pay of both officers and non-commissioned officers augmented wherever it had been disproportioned to their respective ranks. By these changes, the accounts of the army have become much more simple. They have, doubtless, not yet acquired all the perfection which might be desirable, but it would be an injustice not to acknowledge the advances which have been made towards a better order of things.

TABLE OF REGIMENTAL PAY PER DIEM.

Ranks.	Life Guards.			Horse Guards.			Foot Guards.			Dragoons.			Waggon Train.			Infantry.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Colonel	1	16	0	2	1	0	1	19	0	1	18	10	2	0	0	1	2	6
Lieutenant-Colonel	1	11	0	1	9	6	1	8	6	1	3	0	0	19	0	0	17	0
Major	1	6	0	1	7	0	1	4	6	0	19	3	0	18	0	0	16	0
Captain	0	16	0	1	1	6	0	16	6	0	14	7	0	12	6	0	10	6
Ditto, with brevet rank of Field-officer	....			....			....			....			0	14	6	0	12	6
Lieutenant	0	11	0	0	15	0	0	7	10	0	9	0	0	8	6	0	6	6
Ditto, after seven years' service	....			....			....			....			0	9	6	0	7	6
Cornet, Ensign, or Second Lieutenant	0	8	6	0	14	0	0	5	10	0	8	0	0	7	3	0	5	3
Paymaster	....			....			....			0	15	0	0	15	0	0	15	0
Adjutant	0	13	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	8	6
Quarter-Master	0	6	0	0	8	6	0	6	6	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	6	6
Surgeon-Major	....			....			1	0	0	....			....			....		
Surgeon of a Battalion	....			....			0	12	0	....			....			....		
Surgeon	0	12	0	0	12	0	....			0	11	4	0	11	4	0	11	4
Assistant Surgeon	0	8	6	0	8	6	0	7	6	0	8	6	0	8	6	0	7	6
Veterinary Surgeon	0	8	0	0	8	0	....			0	8	0	0	8	0	....		
Serjeant and Corporal Majors	0	3	6¼	0	3	3¼	0	3	2	0	3	6	0	3	6	0	3	0
Serjeants*	....			....			0	2	0	0	2	2	0	3	2	0	1	10
Corporals	0	2	6¼	0	2	3¼	0	1	5	0	1	7½	0	1	7½	0	1	4
Private Soldiers	0	1	11¼	0	1	8¼	0	1	1	0	1	3	0	1	3	0	1	0

* To the pay of serjeants of infantry, as here stated, must be added sixpence per diem for such as are colour serjeants.—*Tr.*

To the pay of colonels, as above detailed, we must add an allowance equal to the pay of as many men as there are troops or companies in the regiment. In the Life and Horse Guards, there are no serjeants; in these corps they have corporal-majors in lieu of serjeant-majors.

For the purpose of giving corporals and privates the greater encouragement to continue in the service, the government decided, when General Fitzpatrick was Secretary at War, (in 1806,) that at the end of ten years' service the men of those ranks should receive an increase to their daily pay of one penny, and of double that sum at the termination of seventeen years. At the same epoch, the pay of all officers, from the lieutenant-colonel down to the ensign of infantry, was augmented by about one-seventh, and it was moreover ordered, that an increase of one shilling per diem should take place on the new rate of pay of lieutenant, after seven years' service in that rank in the infantry. These details may doubtless appear dry, but it was indispensable to enter into them, because they enable us to trace the progress and actual state of the department of war in Great Britain.

Provisions.

The Englishman is habituated to the most substantial nourishment; roast beef, strong beer, a little bread, some potatoes, form his

ordinary fare; and he must have it in the camp as well as in the city, or at least provisions to form an equivalent. He can only serve well upon these terms, but with them he can support the greatest fatigues.

The Scotchman, fed in his own country upon little or no meat, upon fish, greens, potatoes, and oatmeal, is more sober, and not less robust than the Englishman—he can endure much greater privations. The child of a bleak and cold climate, he fears only the ravages of too high a temperature. The soldier of the Scotch lowlands has these advantages, and this inconvenience in relation to the Englishman, in the same proportion that the Highlander has to him.

The Irishman, supported upon potatoes, a few other vegetables, and sometimes perhaps a little meat, has, like the Scotchman, few wants to satisfy. He is also of fine stature and remarkable bravery. He might be taken for the French grenadier; but the grenadier besotted by the unhappy state of his country. He too often shows himself as a liar, a drunkard, quarrelsome and dissipated, in the same degree that the Scotchman is methodical, reserved, and cautious in all his words and all his actions.

It is interesting to learn the amount of the ration of the British soldier, to compare it with that of other European troops. When the

English soldier, then, in quarters, or on the march, is fed by the publican, he must furnish him with a plate of hot meat, the weight of which amounted, before dressed, to a pound and a quarter; a pound of bread, the same quantity of potatoes, or an equivalent in vegetables, two pints of small beer; pepper, salt, and vinegar, necessary for seasoning his meal. In the north of England and in Scotland, where oatmeal instead of bread is the usual food of the inhabitants, the soldier receives a pound and one-eighth of oatmeal in place of a pound of bread.

For troops in barracks, the bread is issued by the contractor at the rate of one pound a day: it must be of pure wheat, and the flour passed through a sieve of a fineness settled by rule. When the soldier is encamped in Great Britain he receives six pounds of bread for four days. Although the soldier is supposed to feed himself upon his pay, the government defrays great part of the expense. For instance, when a soldier is in the ordinary garrison service, while the pound of bread may cost above three-half-pence, the government pays the surplus for one pound per man. When the soldier is encamped, only fivepence of his pay is retained for six pounds of bread. The soldier is supposed to pay for his own meat, but when it is

above sixpence a pound, the state pays the surplus for three-quarters of a pound, as each man's daily allowance. The government also pays every soldier a penny per diem, in lieu of the small beer, which was formerly issued in kind.

By a comparative statement of the expenses of the British army in 1792 and 1817, it appears that at the latter of these periods, the troops quartered in Great Britain, and not encamped, cost for their subsistence, five pounds sterling per man for the year, above the pay fixed by regulation. At present, when provisions are cheaper, this sum is no doubt diminished, but not sufficiently to have entirely put an end to very considerable expense.*

Uniforms and Clothing.

In the British army the aiguillette on the right shoulder is the distinguishing badge of general officers. The field-officers wear two epaulettes, other officers one. The surgeons and paymasters of regiments also wear the epaulette according to their rank. This measure, which only bears date since 1813, appears worthy of observation and imitation,

* The quartern loaf must be at sixpence, and meat in the markets at sixpence per lb. before the government are altogether free from expense for soldiers' provisions.—*Tr.*

particularly in France, where, by a prejudice truly barbarous, the military distinction is attached less to talent and the danger attendant upon duties, than as a mark of the brute authority which is exercised over the soldier.*

The non-commissioned officers are distinguished, like those in the French service, by chevrons of gold, silver, or other lace upon the right sleeve. They also wear a fringe sash above the shoulder belt, and round the waist.

The dress of the English soldier seems to be as well proportioned as our modern clothing can possibly be. But for some absurd ornaments, such as the pelisses, and the lace worn by some corps upon the pockets, sleeves, and front of the coat, the British uniform might be cited as a model. The jacket of the foot soldier is at once economical, light, and sufficiently warm; the breeches and tight pantaloon are not ridiculously small and confined, like the clothing of the Russian soldiery and Prussian officer. The cap is lighter than ours. It is surprising to observe, that so unmilitary an ornament as the shirt-frill forms an essential part of the uniform of the British soldier; the

* Since the period at which the author made the above observation, a general order has again deprived pay-masters, medical officers, and quarter-masters in our service of the distinction of the epaulette.—*Tr.*

only advantage which I can discover in it, is, to ascertain that the soldier's linen is clean, and even this is a proof not always to be depended upon.*

The knapsack of the British infantry appears to me perfect; square, large, flat, and light, and of impenetrable texture, it is the model which we have followed, but imperfectly, for some years.

The infantry, with the exception of one regi-

* This may be seen by an order of the day of the British army: *Placentia, July* 15, 1810. "Many men have been sent to the hospitals lately, in the state of the greatest dirtiness; some without shirts, others with a single shirt, which does not appear to have been washed within any discoverable period. It is consequently necessary that more attention should be paid to the cleanliness and condition of the men's necessaries, than has been done in some brigades."—*Author.* The author is right in supposing that the object of exposing the shirt-frill is to oblige the soldiers to appear in clean linen. It is a point (as observable from the above order) much regarded in our service, though the indolence of the soldier may sometimes induce him, if possible, to escape compliance with an enactment so necessary to health. Such minutiæ may appear ridiculous to a Frenchman, who is usually in utter ignorance of the importance of a clean shirt; but if national characteristics may ever be sought in trifles, this is a striking instance, how little the abstract love of cleanliness weighs in the scale of French taste, in comparison of the ruling passion for outward effect. If the soldier makes a military appearance upon parade, it is matter of indifference whether or not he and his comrades are as badly supplied with linen, as Falstaff's levy.—*Tr.*

ment (the Sixtieth) wear the scarlet uniform. The corps are distinguished from each other by the colour and ornaments of the collar and facings. All regiments honoured with the title of "Royal" wear the blue facing. This is a distinction, and one by far too prodigally bestowed, for of ninety-two regiments of the line, thirteen are "Royal." If such a distinction were employed among a less phlegmatic people, it would prove the origin of numerous regimental feuds, and of the loss of many good soldiers.

Troops are still to be found in the British service who retain their old national costume. The Scotch Highlander, with his short kilt, bare thighs, buskins, bearskin cap and the indispensable shirt-frill, is the only soldier who differs in uniform from the rest of the army. This apparel is a mixture of whatever is most singular and least defensive in the ancient Roman costume, and modern habiliments. The Highlander values himself much upon this dress, and wears it with remarkable pride. Nothing is more martial, I had almost said more heroic, than the air of the mountaineer in full uniform.

Alarmed at the attachment of the Scotch Highlanders to the house of Stuart, and at the national spirit of this warlike race, the government, in the middle of the last century, wished

to deprive them of a costume which recalled the independence of the clans or military tribes of the highlanders; the number of the kilted regiments was gradually reduced, and there now remain but five.

On the 25th of every December, the whole of the British army receive their new clothing. The soldiers and non-commissioned officers of the infantry receive a suit of uniform clothing annually, those of the cavalry only every two years. The great coats of the infantry are replaced once in three years. Before the clothing is forwarded to the respective regiments, the whole of it is examined in London by two special inspectors. In order that it may all arrive for delivery to the troops on the 25th of December, in every part of the British empire, the colonels are required to have it prepared in advance.*

On the 26th of December, the very day after the issue of the clothing, the general officers, commanding districts and garrisons, are required to make the most rigid inspection of it on the backs of the men, and to reject, on the

* For corps serving in England and the islands in the Channel, in October; for those in the West Indies, Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian Isles, in July; for the troops at the Cape of Good Hope, and in Africa generally, in May; for regiments in the East Indies and North America, in February.—*Author.*

spot, every article, defective either in the quality of the stuff, or in the make, or not conformable to the sealed patterns which are produced upon these occasions. If the defective articles are not immediately replaced, the inspector makes a special report of the circumstances to the adjutant-general, by whom it is submitted to the Commander-in-chief. On the contrary, if the inspecting officer is satisfied, he delivers to the corps a certificate that the new clothing, being in every respect conformable to pattern and regulation, is also well fitted to the height and size of the men.

Formerly, whatever related to the superintendance of military clothing, alteration of uniforms, &c. was entrusted to a committee of general officers established in London, receiving instructions from the Commander-in-chief, and transmitting to him the results of their deliberations. The inspection of clothing was made by one of the members of this committee, before the regulation which created inspectors specially for the purpose.

CHAPTER IV.

Quartering of the Troops.—Barracks.

After the right of levying an army, that of quartering the soldiery is one of those which have caused the most frequent disagreements between the sovereign and the parliament. The petition of right declares positively "that the citizens cannot be obliged to receive soldiers whom it may be attempted to quarter upon them against their will."* In the reign of Charles II., so justly termed by Fox, "the time of good laws and bad government," it was declared by a statute, "that no civil or military officer shall quarter soldiers upon an inhabitant without his consent; and that *it is lawful* to re-

* In consulting the work of Davis, who wrote in 1619 upon the military law, it appears that a soldier in garrison, quartered on an inhabitant, had a right to the best bed and the best room (except the bed and chamber of the master), which must be furnished with fine linen, napkins, dishes, &c. The inhabitants were obliged to have the soldier's meals prepared for him, provide attendance for him at table, &c. One cannot be surprised after this, that the English had so great an objection to lodging the military. With the publican it is different; for men who make a trade of receiving travellers of every description, cannot refuse to lodge the soldier on his march.—*Author.*

fuse obedience to every demand or requisition of such a nature."

We have already seen that, by the martial law, publicans alone can be compelled to lodge the military. But we have also seen that, in imposing this charge upon them, the legislature has adopted every means that justice and prudence could dictate, on the one hand, that the publican should suffer neither loss, vexation, nor outrage; on the other hand, that the officer and soldiery should be suitably lodged, and receive abundant and wholesome food. Strange! that during the whole of the seventeenth century, the parliament should have made such extreme efforts to prevent the Sovereign from quartering soldiers upon the inhabitants, and that, in the eighteenth, they should struggle to deprive him of the power of lodging them in barracks. These two lines of conduct, so opposite in appearance, proceeded, however, from the same principle. The House of Commons opposed the power of the King to quarter, *arbitrarily and in indefinite numbers*, the soldiery upon the inhabitants, because such a power presented to the government a ready method of placing garrisons in the houses of such citizens as it pleased them to oppress in particular. This authority must, in itself, be sufficient to extinguish public liberty. But the love of this liberty was

equally opposed to the lodging of soldiers in barracks. When the military are distributed among the citizens, they look upon themselves as still children of the great family of their country; they espouse the interests of the people; and, if the prince, blinded by the desire of absolute sway, should dare to attempt the enslavement of his subjects, and to employ arms for the purpose, the soldier would refuse to become the instrument of so abhorred a project. But, in lodging troops in barracks, they are rendered distinct from the people; habits are given to them foreign to the course, to the affections of civil life, and the *esprit de corps* is substituted for the love of country.*

At the epoch of the French revolution, the British constitution was shaken to its foundation. Flattering pictures of the regeneration of the French people were presented to the Eng-

* Without entering into the speculative question, whether the collection of troops in barracks can possibly be attended with consequences dangerous to the constitution, this much is certain, that it is utterly destructive of all sobriety, regular habits, and military discipline, to suffer the soldiery to find their home in a pot-house. The danger of their being, in such situations, tampered with by the enemies of constitutional order, would appear to be quite as imminent as that of any hazard to the public liberty, by the separation of the men from the people, while the officers are retained in the bosom of civil life, by their connection with the principal families of every party in the state.—*Tr.*

lish populace. The self-love of the lower classes was roused by talking to them of community of rights. Indigence was seduced by exhortation, to call the rich to an account of their opulence; and popular ferment was embodied in a great number of clubs, secret associations, and public meetings, which were daily formed, with the design of overturning the constitution. Crowds, who had nothing to lose, hoping all things from a revolution, united themselves to men misled by a thoughtless love of liberty, which they sought at the moment when they were in enjoyment of it without knowing its value.

If these innovators had been content to limit their demands to political rights, they might, perhaps, have triumphed over the numerous obstacles which opposed their efforts. But they evidently attacked property; the nobility feared the loss of their hereditary privileges, the lower clergy of their tithes, the higher of their vast domains: lastly, the possessions of all citizens appeared threatened by the laboring classes, whom the advance and decline of industry might throw equally out of occupation, and subject to the ignominy of subsisting upon alms.

The proprietory orders, alarmed by symptoms of a rebellion which fermented on all

sides, in counties where the manufacturing population is numerous, addressed themselves to the government, to request the erection of barracks near all the great towns where industry flourishes most. This petition was made in particular, in 1792, by the rich inhabitants of Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Coventry, Norwich, and Nottingham. Other towns afterwards followed this example, and the government acceded to requests which were approved of by the legislative powers.

The Parliament of England thus abandoned its ancient and wise policy. It essentially represented the rights of property. It considered, and with reason, that where there is no respect for property, there is none for liberty. To preserve the public peace, and the empire of the law, it deemed it preferable to bestow dangerous arms upon authority, rather than to expose the country to all the horrors of anarchy. Let us appreciate the excellence of such motives before we too hastily condemn the conduct of the legislature upon this emergency.

We have now to state the condition of the barrack service at the period of the Military Inquiry, the four first reports of which are entirely devoted to an investigation of the abuses existing in this department. Originally the Board of Ordnance were charged with the con-

struction and repair of the few barracks necessary for the garrisons of places of arms and forts. In 1792, Colonel Delancy, assistant-adjutant-general, was entrusted with the erection of the new barracks in the vicinity of the great manufacturing towns. Some time after, he was created barrack-master-general, with the superintendence, not only of building and repairing barracks, but with the furnishing the whole of them. He had, under his orders, barrack-masters and keepers, specially charged with the preservation of these establishments, and the expense of furnishing them. To the department of the ordnance, however, was continued all that part of the barrack service which related to places of arms, and to the quartering of the artillery and engineer forces. Notwithstanding this exception, it will be seen, by the following table, how prodigiously the expenses of the barrack department have increased from time to time.*

Expense in Pounds sterling.	*Building.*	*Furniture.*	*Total.*
1792 to 1797	£872,507	1,121,771	1,994,278
1797	224,839	497,626	722,465
1798	222,321	504,812	727,133
1799	209,085	588,271	797,356
1800	199,207	730,684	929,891
1801	186,723	508,525	695,248
1802	212,177	279,698	491,875
1803	630,878	334,268	965,146
1804	1,172,486	528,127	1,700,613
	3,930,223	5,093,782	9,024,005

* Since the last peace, the ordnance and general barrack

The government seem to have taken no measure to ensure regularity in accounts, the amount of which, one year with another, reached to nearly £ 800,000. The barrack-masters, at first, bought the greater part of the furniture, upon which the master-general allowed them a legal profit of five per cent. With regard to the price and quality of the articles provided, there were neither regulations nor control; the barrack-masters were paid whatever they demanded. Such a system was calculated to give rise to abuses innumerable; and, since the year 1794, it has been found necessary to take the furnishing of all articles of importance out of the hands of barrack-masters.

At the commencement of the year 1795, the master-general created, in the fullness of his authority, one contractor for all barrack furniture, who was to act for the department, generally as the barrack-masters had hitherto done in detail, to purchase and issue furniture for the whole of the barracks in Great Britain, upon condition of being paid without previous examination of his accounts, and with only an *apparent* profit of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This strange agreement was made without the authority, without even the knowledge of the treasury, or secretary-

departments have been again united, to diminish the expense of the superintending offices.—*Tr.*

at-war. The payment made to the general contractor being granted provisionally and on account, he always obtained very large sums in advance, another source of profit in a country where money, ventured in speculation, produces considerable profits. At length, when twelve years had elapsed, the right of forming contracts for the supply of barrack furniture was resigned to the commissariat. This measure was dated in November, 1804; and the inspector of furniture was created at the same time. The master-general, too, was changed at this period.

The present system is, that the barrack-master-general makes a demand upon the treasury for the expense of furniture, which will probably be required in the course of the year: this is his general estimate. Then, the chief commissary receives orders from the treasury to enter into contracts for the supply of furniture accordingly; the inspector examines the articles so provided; the barrack-office give their receipts for the same, and the commissary, on their production, issues directions for payment of the price agreed upon.* But this mode of

* The manner in which the correspondence of the barrack-office is conducted merits notice. The persons in this department, who have a communication to make to the office upon any point of service, double a sheet of paper into two vertical co-

business, so simple, so natural, and so obvious, which should have been adopted from the first moment, was only put into practice after £8,000,000 sterling had been, in thirteen years, expended in a most scandalous manner.

After 1795, the epoch at which the director of the barrack-office received the sounding title of Barrack-Master-General, his annual appointments, and those of his clerks, which were at first rated at £9,525 sterling, increased in such a manner that, in 1806, their charge was £19,239. In the latter year, there were employed in the barrack-office, including master-general, deputies, assistants, clerks, messengers, &c. ninety-eight persons, besides nearly two hundred barrack-masters, the same number of barrack-serjeants, &c.; so that the total annual expense of the personnel of the department amounted to nearly £73,000.

The order for the erection of barracks must proceed from the Commander-in-chief; and, that this order may be a sufficient warrant for

lumns, upon the left one of which they write their letter, and forward it, with a duplicate in the same form. The official reply is written in duplicate upon the right hand column of both sheets, one of which is dispatched to the person in whom the letter originated, and the other retained in the office. Both authorities have thus a copy of the application and answer on the same sheet.—*Author.*

the barrack-master-general, it is necessary besides that the treasury and secretary-at-war should authorize the expense. These two descriptions of warrant were very far from being issued with invariable regularity; they were frequently merely verbal.

In 1803, a few days after the declaration of war, orders were given to build, with the least possible delay, barracks for 50,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, on the coast opposite to France, and this great undertaking was completed in the year. There were in all forty-seven barracks constructed; the greater part of them of wood, that they might be finished more rapidly, and in a habitable state at the earliest practicable hour.

Before the passing of the Defence Act, in that year, proprietors of land which was required for building barracks upon, profited by circumstances to demand an exorbitant price for their ground. The neighbouring proprietors, also, were dissatisfied whenever barracks were erected in their vicinity. At present, when it is intended to construct barracks on a spot determined by the military authorities, a jury are assembled to value the ground. Before the act of defence was passed, at a period when the urgent circumstances of the times admitted not of ordinary formalities, it was necessary to

have the voluntary agreement of the proprietor; but by the Act of 1803, the government can take possession of any ground, without the consent of the owner, if the necessity for such a measure has been certified beforehand by the lord-lieutenant of the county, or two of his deputies. In one case only, when an enemy has actually invaded the country, is the government absolved from all preliminary forms; but the valuation of land, thus occupied by authority, is to be afterwards taken by surveyors, named by the barrack-office; and then, if the proprietor does not accede to such valuation, power is given to two justices of the peace to fix the indemnity which should be paid to the proprietor. I am designedly minute in these details, because they prove to what a degree property is, in England, respected by the public authorities.

The ground having been selected, architects, paid by the barrack-master-general, draw out, and submit for his approval, estimates and plans for the building of the barracks. These plans have always been made too little in detail, and often defective in specification, in the proportion of the parts and in the solidity of the whole.*

* Since the year 1805, the architects are obliged to certify all estimates above £500 upon oath. I have not been able to

Buildings have fallen in soon after their erection, by the weakness of the walls, from their insufficient thickness, and, above all, from the bad execution of the work.*

When a barrack was built, the contractor himself, unattended by another person, measured the work, and was paid at the stipulated price on his own survey, and without any control on the part of the public authorities; often without even the certificate of the architects, that the work had been duly performed. Nevertheless, the architect received one and a quarter per cent. upon the amount of all the expenses of buildings and repairs, for his superintendance of the work; one and a quarter per cent. for regulating the accounts of the charges; and often one and a quarter per cent. added to all this. Thus the architect often cleared three and three quarters per cent. upon all the expenses, for exercising a superintendence which was almost nominal, and for regulating accounts which were dependent upon the measurement of the

discover whether this measure has rendered the estimates at all less exorbitant.—*Author.*

* The barracks at Chelmsford, in Essex, may be cited as a proof of this. The most singular circumstance, however, in these barracks was, that they were built without any contract, on a mere verbal understanding between the master-general and the builder.—*Author.*

contractor. In eleven years only, the profits of the architects exceeded £100,000, besides their regular appointments. There were three architects and a few assistants.

During the last war, England was divided into fourteen barrack districts, and Scotland into four. Each of these districts was under charge of an assistant to the master-general. A principal assistant was resident at Edinburgh, to connect the service of the department in Scotland with the central-office in London.

In July 1805, there were, in Great Britain, 84 barracks of stone or brick, 12 of wood, 75 temporary (of wood) and 48 hired, making a total of 212. It was calculated that these barracks could contain 100,000 infantry, and 15,000 cavalry. In Ireland, the proportion of barracks for the extent of country is greater by far. In Great Britain, the annual charge for the barrack-department varied from £ 500,000 to £300,000, until the peace, when the expense was reduced to a comparatively trifling amount. The war charge for Ireland averaged about £350,000 per annum.*

* All the wooden barracks of a temporary nature have been taken down since the peace. The charge for the barrack department is now very small. The officer at present as its head is styled the Comptroller of Barrack Accounts.—*Tr.*

BOOK V.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ORDNANCE.

CHAPTER I.

Master-General, and Board of Ordnance.

THE ordnance, in which are comprehended the artillery and engineers, is superintended and commanded by a Master-general, seconded by a Board, of which he is the president, and which consists of,

First, The lieutenant-general of the ordnance, who, in the absence of the master-general, is director of the military services: secondly, the surveyor-general of the ordnance, who by himself and his assistants has the control of ammunition and stores, their expenses, and the consequent accounts: thirdly, the clerk of the ordnance, who has charge of all pecuniary affairs, and prepares the monthly and annual estimates for the treasury and parliament: fourthly, the principal storekeeper-general, who is responsible in himself and by his deputies for

the condition and preservation of all the matériel of the ordnance: and, fifthly, the clerk of deliveries, who has the superintendance of all issues from the magazines.

The written orders of the master-general are obligatory upon all branches of his department; but he generally abandons to the Board the administration of matériel and expenditure. In case of absence, or of vacancy in the office of master-general, or when he does not of himself exercise any part of his authority, the Board have the direction of affairs. The ordnance possesses a special paymaster of its own, who is styled treasurer; he can make no issue of funds, but upon the warrant and signature of at least three members of the Board. All estimates, accounts and reports relative to them, whether of the personnel or matériel, which are submitted to parliament, must be signed, not by the master-general alone, but by all the members of the board of ordnance.

Personnel of the Ordnance Department in 1815.

	Appointments per Annum. £.	s.	d.
Board of ordnance.			
1 Master-General	3,160	6	0
1 Lieutenant-General	1,559	16	8
1 Surveyor-General	1,232	8	4
1 Clerk of the Ordnance	1,914	9	4
1 Principal Store-Keeper	1,863	5	5
1 Clerk of Deliveries	1,215	9	8
1 Principal Secretary to the Master-General, and three clerks	3,030	0	0
1 Secretary to the Board	1,865	0	0

Offices in the department.

	Chief Clerks.	*Senior Clerks.*	*Junior Clerks.*	*Assistants.*	£.	s.	d.
Secretary to the Board	1	7	7	0	4,250	0	0
Correspondence	1	7	7	4	4,953	0	0
Surveyor-General	1	17	17	18	11,370	0	0
Clerk of the Ordnance	1	13	13	13	7,620	0	0
Store-keeper	1	8	10	4	5,315	0	0
Clerk of Deliveries	1	6	6	9	4,035	0	0
Treasurer	0	0	0	0	1,235	2	0
Treasury Office	1	7	7	0	2,965	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
30 Messengers, Housekeepers, Porters, &c.	2,650	0	0
1 Solicitor	300	0	0
1 Architect	200	0	0
1 Chemist (Assayer of Metals)	150	0	0
1 Superintendant of Works	425	0	0
1 Ditto of Transports	365	0	0
2 Clerks under him	1,185	0	0
*Total	£63,058	17	5

The establishment of the ordnance is traced to Charles II., who, having no other depôt for artillery originally but the Tower of London, formed a council for the direction of this depart-

* It is almost needless to observe, that this expense on a war establishment has been greatly reduced since the year 1815.—*Tr.*

ment. By the great augmentation which was afterwards necessarily made in the ordnance, however, the members of this council soon ceased to fulfil the functions at the Tower, indicated by their titles. They are obliged to refer to their head clerks for the technical operations which they are supposed to direct: it is thus that a naval officer could be chosen as surveyor-general of the ordnance, though his profession must have kept him in ignorance both of the accounts and service of the artillery and engineers of the land forces.* The commissioners of military inquiry proposed, in 1811, to take the particular direction of the offices of the department out of the hands of the members of the Board; to leave the latter entirely at leisure to attend to the general direction of affairs; to compose the board of civil and military men, in equal numbers, &c. The organization proposed, though advantageous in some respects, was bad in others; and it was not adopted.

It was in 1808 that a regular scale of advance in salaries, according to seniority, was first established for the civil branch of the ordnance. In

* When it is considered, however, that the ordnance is charged with the provision of warlike equipment for the navy, it will not appear so incongruous to place an officer of that profession in the department. The present surveyor of the ordnance is a distinguished military officer.—*Tr.*

1815, when the British government, intoxicated with success, did not appear to foresee how soon it would be necessary to diminish its expenses to escape from impending ruin, a warrant presented for the royal signature, with the approbation of the lords of the treasury, rendered this increased rate of salary yet higher. In the course of six years it had presented the following augmentations: viz.

	£.		£.
1813	9,628	1816	24,966
1814	10,343	1817	27,000
1815	20,712	1818	29,000

The finance committee of 1817, in directing the attention of the house of commons to the rapidity of such an increase, observes:—"Your committee, taking into consideration the very recent augmentation of each rate of salary granted by virtue of the last warrant, and the total of the amount of the increased scale, cannot quit this part of the estimates without strongly recommending the revision of that warrant, which appears to carry the system of progressive increase of salary far beyond the limits imposed by the alteration of circumstances in which the country is placed, and even beyond the limits which regulate this sort of expense in other branches of the public service. Your committee recommend that no augmentation in

the civil departments of the ordnance, and that no recompense for services in the nature of pension be granted, without a previous report to the lords of the treasury; nor without obtaining the approbation of those lords, before any report is made on the subject to the sovereign, by the master-general and board of ordnance."

Ordnance Estimates.

The ordnance estimates, from the nature of the works which they embrace, and the extent of the charges detailed in them, demand the most scrupulous attention on the part of the executive power which presents them, and the legislative authority by which they are approved or censured. But the legislature cannot judge of the nature and necessity of the expenditure, if the estimates are not divided with such method, and presented in such order, that the funds requisite for each branch of the service may be distinctly seen. In 1783, the Duke of Richmond, then master-general of the ordnance, and who did much to improve all the branches of his ministry, presented the estimates of expenses under forms more simple, clear and methodical, than those which had been followed up to that period. In a report which he addressed to the House of Commons, he deve-

loped the inconvenience of the old mode of making up the estimates, and the advantages of the innovations which he had introduced. This report was not the work of a dexterous man of office, who wished to add to his own importance by enveloping himself in the mysteries of complicated forms and difficult calculations, but a luminous exposition, wherein it was visible that the love of the public good was the guiding principle of a wise and upright citizen. But it must be confessed, that his successors have not invariably followed a course, so worthy of imitation. Some of them, whether they from weakness suffered themselves to be led, or from want of capacity to be deceived by their underlings, did not evince in their annual accounts all the clearness, good order, and punctuality, which the country had a right to expect.

Although Great Britain and Ireland have, since the beginning of the present century, been represented in the same parliament, the accounts of the public services for the two countries have been still kept distinct. The ordnance estimates, like those of the army generally, give the expenses of Ireland and Great Britain separately.—The pay of persons employed has the same nominal rate in both countries; but as the value of the pound sterling in Irish currency is less by one thirteenth than in England, all the

expenses for Ireland must be calculated accordingly, in uniting them with the charges for Great Britain.

The estimates for Great Britain are by far more considerable than for Ireland, because they comprise all the expenses of transmarine possessions, and of expeditions to the different parts of the globe: they are divided into the probable ordinary and extraordinary charges for the year to come; into expenses unprovided for in former years, but which the government had found it necessary to defray, though the parliament had not voted them in advance; and, lastly, the amount of the retired list and pensions.

Details of the Estimates.

The ordinary expenses are composed of all pay of the personnel, and maintenance of the matériel, of the ordnance, for constant and regular service: there are shown under separate heads, the amount of appointments, pay, or salaries of,—

First, the master-general, and offices of administration; secondly, of the arsenal of Woolwich; thirdly, of the parks of artillery and depôts of arms; fourthly, of the manufacture of gunpowder and small arms; fifthly, pay to the individuals employed in these establishments

aforesaid: sixthly, pay of civil officers of the ordnance on foreign stations; seventhly, the pay of master-gunners, workmen, and laborers of every profession, employed in the establishments of the artillery; eighthly, the support and armament of ordnance establishments in the forts, places, and garrisons, in Great Britain; ninthly, barrack equipage for the ordnance.

Then come the establishments of the military personnel, in which are shown the number of men for the yearly service in each corps of artillery and engineers, and the charge for their maintenance under the following titles;—officers of engineers—corps of sappers and miners—school of sappers and miners—regiment of artillery—horse artillery—train—medical establishment—Royal Military Academy at Woolwich.*

Extraordinary expenses:—First, the charges of construction, repairs, and current service, of fortified places in the transmarine possessions, in charge of the ordnance; secondly, analogous charges for similar fortifications in Great Britain; thirdly, extra charges for workmanship in the arsenals, parks of artillery, and powder manufactories; fourthly, the charge for the maintenance and repair of small arms, &c.

Miscellaneous expenses.—Under this title are

* Each of these corps, or establishments, will form the subject of a separate article.—*Author.*

comprehended the allowances granted to the troops of the ordnance, as to the rest of the army; forage for horses, lights and fuel for barracks, &c. and the trigonometrical survey of Great Britain.

The ordnance department have always been careful to ask a larger grant than necessary for each head of service, by which means a fund in reserve has been created to employ in unforeseen expenses. This plan has increased the means of concealing some important and expensive operations from parliamentary examination.*

One of the greatest inconveniences in the ordnance estimates consists in there being rendered no parliamentary account of a great number of expenses, which might be calculated beforehand, if it were not preferred to mix them in a mass after having contracted them, and bring forward the result as "services unprovided for," that is to say, which the parliament had not provided for by previous votes.

It is necessary, say the commissioners of military inquiry, with great wisdom, to consider demands for funds made after the proper season by the ministry for "expenses unprovided for," as the acquittal of a debt contracted in opposition to the laws, and as applications for votes of

* Fourteenth Report, Mil. Inq. p. 268.

indemnity; or, in other words, as a discharge from the responsibility incurred by a violation of constitutional forms.

If there were only presented, under the title of "expenses unprovided for," such as it was impossible to foresee or avoid, the supreme law of necessity would be the most legitimate of excuses: but otherwise, under this vague and deceitful title may often be concealed, expenses which might be, and are, foreseen, but of which it may be an object to disguise the nature or extent.*

It is for the parliament to guard against such culpable artifices, as would render, in many respects fruitless, the wholesome control which it exercises over expenditure. The committees of finance, annually appointed by the House of Commons, have therefore given their particular attention, in examining the estimates, to the means of diminishing the head of "expenses unprovided for" in the ordnance services. The committee of 1818, after having cited several striking instances of this description of expense, thus expresses itself in its Ninth Report (p. 74.)

* The after charges for expenses unprovided for in the four years preceding 1810, amounted to near £11,000,000; in 1819, these charges were only £20,000. There has thus been an evident amelioration in the administration of the business of the ordnance.—*Author*.

"Your Committee, having understood that strict orders were given by the Board of Ordnance, that the estimated sums should upon no account be exceeded, consider these instances worthy of being laid before the House, for the purpose of showing how essential it is, not only to limit the particular sums originally allowed to specific services, but to exact a strict compliance with such orders, by marking something more than mere disapprobation, where any considerable excess has been incurred." It is thus that the representatives of a free people should ever speak.

When the estimates have been prepared by the Board of ordnance, the master-general submits them to the first lord of the treasury, furnishes all necessary explanations, and, if there is occasion, corrects or diminishes them. When it is proposed to undertake any great military works, the expense is not included in the estimates, until the question of such works has been discussed and approved in the cabinet of responsible ministers.

CHAPTER II.

Staff, and Troops, of the Artillery.

The troops of the artillery form a single corps, which is inaptly enough styled a regiment, since it was raised during the war to a strength of upwards of 24,000 men. The master-general of the ordnance has the title and powers of colonel of the regiment of artillery; and the lieutenant-general of the ordnance is the colonel-en-second. A general officer, with the title of deputy-adjutant-general, performs the duties of chief of the staff of the troops of artillery.—He is not under the orders of the adjutant-general of the British forces; he is even charged in the ordnance with more extensive functions, which, in a general degree, include those of quarter-master-general, and military secretary to the commander-in-chief.—All communications from artillery officers to the master-general are addressed through him.

The office of the deputy-adjutant-general is at Woolwich, which may be considered as the head-quarters of the ordnance; this office was composed, in 1810, of one assistant, and five clerks, of whom four were merely serjeants;

this number is too small for the conduct of business with regularity and dispatch.

It is inconceivable why the government retain a lieutenant-general of the ordnance, at considerable expense, without either military or civil functions; and yet do not confide to him the direction of staff duties for the troops, of whom he is considered as second in command.

The following is a comparative table of the strength of the corps of artillery officers, in 1814, a period of active war, and on the first October, 1819, that is, after four years of peace.

	1814.	1819.
Colonels-commandant	13	11
Colonels	22	20
Lieutenant-Colonels	39	32
Majors	15	10
First Captains	151	84
Second Captains	126	93
First Lieutenants	338	186
Second Lieutenants	119	70
Adjutants	16	13
Quarter-Masters	18	13
Medical Director General	1	1
Inspectors General	3	2
Surgeons, &c.	127	30
TOTAL	988	505

To this enumeration should be added a director-general, chief commissary, three assistants, and one paymaster, of the field train.

Here, as in many other cases, we recognize that spirit of routine, founded upon a laudable attachment to old institutions, which however

is continued long after it has ceased to be applicable to a new order of things. Formerly, when the artillery of Great Britain formed a corps of the strength of one common regiment, such a body was properly termed the regiment of artillery. But, at present, when the force of the personnel of this arm is equal to that of ten regiments of infantry, and of several corps of cavalry united, it is ridiculous to style such a corps a regiment; it is no less so to retain the titles of colonel and colonel-en-second for the generals who command this considerable force and who have, under their orders, colonels-commandant with the army rank of generals and lieutenant-generals. All this is absurd and contrary to the uniformity and proper gradation of military command.*

But it appears that by far more serious objections may be made to the ancient form of or-

* After all, this is merely quarrelling about a word; call it the *legion* of artillery instead of the regiment, and our author will be content; if the master and lieutenant-general are no longer styled colonels. But whether it be a legion or a regiment, and its subdivisions, regiments or battalions, no military man will be found to contend, that the artillery should not form a corps at once entirely distinct from the line, and of the utmost uniformity in its parts, one to another. Its indivisibility as a corps, instead of being made up of several regiments, is advantageous to the general regularity of the ordnance service, in place of being a defect in organization.—*Tr.*

ganization of the British artillery. A colonel of the corps has within two years published a little volume full of interest upon this subject; from his work are extracted parts of the facts and observations which we are about to offer.

The English artillery is far from possessing an organization capable of perfection. It has not followed the advancement of the other arms; it possesses none of the advantages which are due to the importance of its services, and its officers are excluded from the command of places, and stations of honor upon the general staff. The pay of officers of the foot artillery is not superior to that of the infantry of the line; and the horse-artillery receive no more than the mere cavalry. The Board of ordnance are charged with the pay and clothing of the troops, and the colonels of artillery have no advantage resulting from this pay, and neither the supply of appointments, nor of clothing and equipment for their battalions.

The promotion of officers takes place by seniority only. Those among us who are unacquainted with the state of the French army before the revolution, will find it difficult to believe how slowly the English officers of artillery passed through the different ranks of their service during the two last wars. Taking the average of the five youngest officers of each rank, it appears to have required, to become a

Second Captain	11 years' service.
First Captain	17 ditto.
Major*	23 ditto.
Lieutenant-Colonel . . .	24 ditto.
Colonel	36 ditto.
Colonel Commandant . .	46 ditto.

And this promotion has continued so tardy, though between 1793 and 1814, the personnel of the artillery had become seven times more numerous! What will it be during a period of peace?

"What can be expected from the continuance of such a system, (exclaims the author of the remarks from whence these facts have been gathered,) what can be expected, but that the superior ranks will at length be filled, in the artillery, by men overwhelmed with infirmities, and whose spirit, from being long habituated to the vulgar routine of subaltern duties, will have lost, not only vigour and elasticity, but even the faculty of exerting command? Here is the radical error of our corps; this is the principal cause of that want of nerve and energy, which is often so justly the reproach of

* By one of the King's regulations, only seven years' service are requisite to enable an officer to hold the rank of major of infantry or cavalry; not a single officer of artillery attained that rank under twenty years. In the engineers there is no intermediate rank between the captain and lieutenant-colonel, but it is not so in the artillery.—*Author.*

the British artillery. Until promotion is accelerated, until officers can indulge the cheering hope of attaining to the higher ranks while they are in the prime of strength, it is vain to expect that they will take more than common care in preparing themselves for fulfilling the duties of stations, at which they can see no prospect of arriving until they reach the brink of the grave. And even if they did use preparation to render themselves qualified for command, the infirmities of advanced age would render all their acquirements useless before they had an opportunity of putting them into action."

The field-officers are supposed to command each two brigades of artillery. But these brigades are generally attached to different divisions of the army, and the field-officer is therefore either reduced to perform the functions of captain, or discarded altogether. His name does not even appear in the orders of the different corps of an army, while those of the captains of brigades are always mentioned. The officer who commands the artillery of an army has seldom higher rank than that of lieutenant-colonel. In the last campaigns in the Peninsula, the artillery of the British army, commanded by a captain of artillery, with brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel, amounted to 6,100 men, with 4,300 horses or mules. In

1815, the artillery of the army, which fought at Waterloo, was composed of 7,500 men, with 5,800 horses and mules; it was commanded by a lieutenant-colonel with brevet rank as colonel.

It may be said, in general, that officers of artillery, in becoming field-officers, have, except in case of a very few commands on foreign or home service, literally nothing whatever to do, or next to nothing. Besides this, these officers, whatever be their rank, cannot, like those of the line, be employed upon the staff of armies, either in the quarter-master or adjutant-general's department. "Can it be a matter of surprise that there is no emulation among officers of this service, and that they should be reproached, as is done in England, (we are still quoting the words of the colonel to whom we alluded,) with want of activity, zeal and energy?"

"The field-officers of battalions," says the same writer, "scarcely ever march with the battalions to which they are considered to belong, and which become strangers to them; they have no previous acquaintance with the men who are placed under their orders at the opening of a campaign."

The accounts, like the service, being divided into companies, are conducted in a manner

which is attended with heavy inconveniences. There are for the ordnance, as for the general service, regimental agents, named and revoked at the pleasure of the master-general. They receive two-pence in the pound sterling upon the pay of every soldier on the establishment, and on that of the officers whose affairs they conduct: independently of sums for the agency of half-pay, retired allowances, &c. The accounts of the agents are examined in the office of the surveyor-general of the ordnance. From the statement of the commission of military inquiry, it appears to require, at least, three years before the agents can collect the accounts of the different detachments of the same company, which is often dispersed over the four quarters of the globe. The commission recommend, with much reason, a separation of the accounts of the artillery into two divisions, of troops on home service, and those on foreign stations. The expenses of the former might then, without difficulty, be submitted to the control and immediate examination of the surveyor-general.

The accounts, when passed by the surveyor-general, are transmitted, with the warrant of his approbation, to the clerk of the ordnance, that the latter officer may grant, as definitive expenses, the sums charged, and which had only been issued on account to the agents.

Committee of Woolwich.

The field-officers of artillery, whether on duty at Woolwich, or simply resident there, as the head-quarters of the troops of the ordnance, and the centre of the works of the department, are from time to time assembled in committee, to decide upon the utility of inventions, and schemes for improvements in their branch of the service, as well as upon the trials necessary to show the advantages and inconveniences of such suggestions; the reports of the committee are finally addressed to the Board of ordnance. When the business is of particular importance, a special committee is appointed by the master-general, and renders account to him direct.

The experiments made at Woolwich, as well as the papers laid before these committees, by persons of the corps, are kept secret. As soon as the utility of any suggestions is acknowledged, they ought, on the contrary, to be circulated as much as possible, at all events among distinguished officers, who would know how to turn them to the improvement of the military art. With respect to these officers, some of whom are placed in the lower ranks, and often on foreign stations without an im-

mediate chief of their service, and others, raised to high rank and removed from their troops, they have no opportunity of searching into abuses which it may be necessary to rectify; nor are they placed in situations which may give rise in their minds to plans for improvement in their corps. They take no interest in the welfare and progress of the service, and the general advantage of the military force is thus injured by the vice of one of its institutions.

These inconveniences are augmented by the manner in which reviews and inspections are made. The troops of the artillery services are never inspected by officers of their own arm, who could be charged with an examination into the degree of science and skill visible in their exercises. They are merely passed in review by inspectors of the infantry and cavalry, with a view to the appearance of the men, and the condition of the horses.

Department of the Field Train.

It is the duty of the department of the field train to proportion the ammunition and matériel necessary for all the artillery services; to form both depôts of ammunition for the ordnance, and district depôts for the army, such as

were established in Great Britain during the last war; and, lastly, to preserve in magazine, to transport by sea and land, and to distribute all matériel whether for domestic or foreign service.

The department of the field train is directed by a general officer of artillery, whose official residence is near the grand depôt at Woolwich. This officer is one of those who, until lately, received forage, as if serving on the staff of an army in the field. He presides over the general arrangement of the matériel of the artillery; and directs the provisioning, order and movements of the whole field train. He also receives all reports of inspection, and states of condition, and has full authority over the officers of his department; except with respect to the accounts, which are kept by the commissariat alone.

The civil part of the department of the field train was composed, in 1815, of a commisary-in-chief, resident at Woolwich, of nine commissaries, forty assistant-commissaries, one hundred and twenty-two storekeeper clerks, and one hundred and fifty conductors, distributed, as the wants of the service dictated, at different points of the British empire, or attendant upon the forces actively employed in the field. These persons are answerable for the receipt

and delivery, the safety and transport of matériel belonging to the field train.

In this department, as in that of the general commissariat of the army, it is necessary, in order to attain the higher stations, to begin as clerks or store-keepers. The assistant-commissaries are placed near the depôts and reserve magazines of ammunition:—they are charged with the equipment of batteries, and pieces of artillery; and it is often on them alone that officers must depend for warlike equipage, upon the seasonable arrival, and good condition of which, the success of military operations so frequently hinges. The chief, and other commissaries of artillery, have the supreme direction of the expenses of ordnance matériel.

Notwithstanding some defects which still remain in the organization of the department of the field train, it exhibits a very sensible course of improvement both in personnel and matériel since the commencement of the war with the French empire.

Troops of the Artillery.

The interior arrangements of the corps of artillery being, in a great many respects, similar to that of regiments of the line, we shall here confine ourselves to a statement of the composition

of the different bodies of which this arm is constituted; reserving more ample details on the technical part of the service, for that portion of our work which is devoted to studies and labors.

Horse Artillery.

The horse artillery was organized in 1793, at the opening of the French war: it forms a corps termed a brigade, and its subdivisions are styled troops.

In 1799 the brigade of horse artillery was composed of six troops. One of these accompanied the expedition to Holland; and, in 1807, another was dismounted to be sent to Buenos-Ayres. The English army in the Peninsula possessed only two troops of horse artillery in 1808; in 1813 it had five. The army of Waterloo was attended by seven troops, exclusive of two others of the Hanoverian legion, and a British troop attached to the service of the Congreve rockets.

It was in Spain that the English began to use the Congreve rockets in the field: at the battle of Leipsig a troop of British artillery was engaged in the employment of these projectiles.

The corps of horse artillery is under orders of

2 Colonels Commandant
2 Colonels-en-Second
2 Lieutenant-Colonels
1 Major

And each troop is officered by 1 first captain, 1 second captain, and 3 lieutenants.

Effective Strength of the Horse Artillery.

1814	10 troops	2706 men.
1819	6 ditto	610 ditto

It will perhaps be interesting to offer some historical details upon the service of the horse artillery during the two last wars.

This artillery was at first armed with 3-pounders, light 6-pounders, and light howitzers of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In 1793 the use of 12-pounders was introduced, but soon after abandoned, as was also the light howitzer, which was replaced by a heavy one of the same calibre. In the army in Spain in 1813, a part of the horse artillery was armed with 9-pounders; these fell into disuse, and were again adopted for the field artillery before the commencement of hostilities in 1815.

At the battle of Waterloo, six of the ten troops, who were engaged altogether, from anticipation of the service in which they were to be employed, had exchanged their light guns for 9-pounders; this circumstance had the greatest influence in the success of the battle. One troop also was armed exclusively with howitzers, and the superiority of its fire was evinced near the castle of Hougoumont.

In the last campaigns in Portugal, Spain, and

France, the troops of horse artillery in the English army were attached to the brigades of cavalry. One part of the soldiers of the light artillery are on horseback, while the rest are seated on the limbers of the guns.

Foot Artillery.

The foot artillery is divided into battalions of ten companies. The staff of each battalion is composed of

1 Colonel Commandant.	1 Quarter-master.
1 Colonel en Second.	1 Surgeon.
2 Lieutenant-Colonels.	2 Assistants in war, and one Assistant in peace.
1 Major.	
1 Adjutant.	

We have already seen that the companies of the same battalion scarcely ever serve together in one army, or, at least, that they rarely act in corps directed by their field-officers. The battalions are composed of ten companies each, in time of war, and of eight upon the peace establishment:—a company is officered by

1 First Captain.	2 First Lieutenants.
1 Second Captain.	1 Second Lieutenant.

Since the peace, the strength of the companies has also been reduced; in 1815, they were composed of nearly one hundred men each, without including officers; at present, they have not above seventy-eight. The battalions which, upon the war establishment, amounted each to about a thousand non-com-

missioned officers and soldiers, do not now average above 640. There was, during the war, a battalion of invalid artillery, organized in the same manner as the other battalions, but since the peace it has been reduced to a skeleton of officers.

In 1792, a little before the French revolutionary war, the artillery consisted of four battalions of 820 men, and one of invalids of 483 men; making a total of 3,707 soldiers of artillery.

In 1814, there were 16,157 foot-artillerymen, forming eleven battalions, which gave an average of 1,459 men per battalion, and 146 per company.

In 1819, the foot artillery consisted only of 5,742 men, divided into nine battalions, of eight companies, and 638 men each.

From these statements it appears, that the force of the artillery at three remarkable epochs comes under the following proportions: viz.

1792 Peace	1814 War.	1819 Peace
100	436	155

That is to say, that the force of the foot artillery was more than quadrupled during the wars of the revolution, and that, at present, it exceeds by one half its amount before those wars.

Comparative table of the expenses of a battalion of artillery in 1792 and 1817, supposing the strength equal in both cases.

General Staff.	1792. Pay per diem.		1817. Pay per diem.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
1 Colonel-commandant	44	0	55	0
1 Colonel-en-second	24	0	26	3
1 Lieutenant-colonel	20	0	18	1
1 Lieutenant-colonel-en-second	17	0	18	1
1 Major	15	0	16	11
1 Second Major	15	0	16	11
1 Adjutant	5	0	8	6
1 Quarter-master	6	0	7	10
1 Serjeant-major	2	0	4	5½
1 Quarter-master-serjeant	2	0	3	11½
Per diem	150	0	176	0
Per annum=	£2,737 : 15s.		£3,211 : 5s.	

Companies.	1792. Pay per diem.		1817. Pay per diem.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
1 Captain	10	0	11	1
1 Captain-en-second	6	0	11	1
2 First Lieutenants	10	0	13	8
1 Second ditto	4	0	5	7
2 Serjeants	4	0	5	7
2 Corporals	3	8	4	11
4 Bombardiers	6	8	9	2
63 Gunners	63	0	96	3¾
2 Drummers	2	0		
78	109	4	157	4¾
780 for ten companies, per diem=	£54 : 13 : 4		£78 : 13 : 11½	

	Per annum. 1792.			Per annum. 1817.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
General staff of a battalion	2,737	15	0	3,211	5	0
Companies	19,953	6	8	28,724	4	9½
Gratuities to officers and soldiers	0	0	0	1,000	0	0
Allowance in lieu of small beer	0	0	0	547	0	0
Ditto ditto of wine	0	0	0	125	0	0
Totals	22,691	1	8	33,607	19	9½

Thus the proportion of charges for battalions of the same strength, in 1792 and 1817, is as 100 to 144, or nearly 2 to 3.

Troops of the Train of Artillery.

The men of the Train of artillery were formerly mere carters, hired at the moment of need, and the numerous desertions among whom were replaced in the field by soldiers drawn from the different corps of the army. They were, however, formed into regular troops at the commencement of the wars of our revolution. Formerly the drivers conducted the artillery and ammunition waggons on foot; but they are now all mounted.

In 1797 this corps consisted of	5 troops,	1,330 drivers,	45 officers
1814 . . .	14 .	7,300 .	84
1819 . . .	4 .	429 .	0

A regulation of the 1st of January, 1806, raises the personnel of the field train of foot artillery to the rank of a royal corps, the Royal Artillery Drivers, with the following organization:

One colonel and three field-officers receiving the pay of horse artillery; one major at 21 shillings, and two adjutants and two veterinary surgeons at 8 shillings each per diem.

Composition and Pay of a Troop.

	Per diem. s.	d.
1 Captain commissary	15	0
5 First Lieutenants, each	9	0
1 Second Lieutenant	8	0
5 Serjeant-majors, each	3	6¼
15 Serjeants, ditto	2	6¼
15 First Corporals, ditto	2	3¾
15 Second ditto, ditto	2	1¼
2 Recruiting troopers, ditto	1	5¾
5 Trumpeters, ditto	2	1¾
5 Farriers, ditto	3	5¼
15 Smiths, ditto	2	3¼
10 Harness-makers, ditto	2	1¼
10 Cartwrights, ditto	2	1¼
450 Drivers, ditto	1	5¾

	£	s.	d.
554 persons, being an expense per annum of	£17,585	0	3¾
11 troops, composed of 6,094 men, at a cost per annum of	193,435	3	5¼
1 troop for the riding school, of 62 men	2,568	13	9
Different expenses	33,128	5	0
Total annual expense of the corps of Drivers	£229,132	2	2¼

The British army complain of the misconduct of this corps, which is altogether separate from the other troops of the artillery, instead of being, as it ought, an integral part of the arm. The officers of the English artillery are desirous that there should be no officers to the field train, and that the command and arrangement of this part of the service, which seems naturally to belong to themselves, should be confided to their hands. The officers of a company of foot artillery would then be the only and ex-

clusive directors of the personnel and matériel; of artillerymen, drivers, and horses.

The soldiers of the train, preserved on the peace establishment, have been placed under the orders of the officers of four troops of the horse artillery which were reduced after the campaign of 1815.

Although the drivers of the horse artillery are treated in every respect like the artillery-men, they cannot become non-commissioned officers. In the last war, however, the necessity of giving them non-commissioned officers, drawn from the horse artillery, was perceived; it is astonishing that the British could have done without this arrangement in any campaign.

It is only since the war with the French republic, that the British have made use of horses, purchased by the government for the foot artillery. At the re-commencement of hostilities in 1803, a general contract was made, without public advertisement, for the hire of horses necessary for this service in Great Britain; 3,500 were thus furnished. It was soon sufficiently evident that a very unfavorable engagement had been entered into; and, in order to get rid of it, the state were obliged to purchase all the horses which the contractor had bought for himself, and to pay him £35,000 to induce him to consent to the cancelling of his contract. This was not his only profit. By a clause in the

agreement, every horse which died in the service was to be paid for to the contractor at £21. If the government had killed all the horses, good and bad, and had paid for them at this rate, they would have given £45,000 less than they bought them for of this contractor. He thus received, in fact, £80,000 more than he had any right to expect. Notwithstanding this, the same person continued to furnish at different intervals, and upon the terms of the same bargain, which had been found so disadvantageous, a certain number of horses for draught and load to the artillery, and particularly to the engineer department. The contractor was obliged to feed his own horses. It may be seen by the sixteenth report of Military Inquiry, with what economy he acquitted himself of this duty. The poor animals were so weakened by the diet to which he subjected them, that at Dover, for instance, the engineers could not employ them for the transport of heavy loads, and were obliged to hire others in the town or surrounding country.

The horses of the train of artillery, purchased for the service by government, in the markets of Great Britain, cost as follows:

For the horse artillery	from 1793 to 1803	26 guineas each.
	from 1803 to 1809	28 ditto.
For the foot artillery	from 1793 to 1803	23 ditto.
	from 1803 to 1809	25 ditto.

Laborers of the Artillery.

The works of the ordnance are executed in the depôts and fortresses by civil laborers, who are paid at very high rates. There are no companies of laborers or artificers, as in the French arsenals; this is a defect on many accounts.

The military artisans, attached to the field-artillery, are charged with the urgent repairs of carriages, harness, shoeing of the horses, &c. They form part of the battalions of gunners, or of the field train, and are not organised in distinct corps.

The construction of batteries is the duty of the corps of engineers. It appears even, that in sieges, the number and position of the batteries, as well as the arming of them, belong exclusively to the engineers. It is surprising that the corps of British artillery have not endeavored, by every possible means, to get the better of such a dependance.

Foreign Artillery.

During the last war, the British government retained in their pay some companies of foreign artillery, composed in part of French emigrants, and partly of mercenaries of other nations.

There was also in the English service a body of artillery of the Hanoverian legion. These different forces formed a total, which did not amount to a sixth of the national troops of the same arm. It is unnecessary to add that, after the peace, England hastened to disband all the foreign artillery.

Comparative strength of the different corps of artillery on the 25th of December, 1813.

Corps.	*Officers.*	*Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers.*
Foot artillery	748	15,682
Horse artillery	70	2,429
Train	101	6,700
Hanoverian artillery	54	1,114
Foreign artillery	22	477
Total	995	26,402

We shall conclude the subject of the military establishment of the artillery, by exhibiting, at one point of view, the force of this arm at five important periods; three of peace, and two of war.

	Foot Artillery. Battalions.	*Horse Artillery. Troops.*	*Train. Troops.*	*Invalids. Battalions.*
January, 1782, war	4	0	0	1
January, 1792, peace	4	0	0	1
December, 1813, war	12	12	12	1
June, 1815, war	9	12	12	1
January, 1819, peace	8	6	4	1

Effective force of the corps at the same epochs:

	Total of the arm.	Officers.
January, 1782, war	5,354	268
January, 1792, peace	3,707	274
December, 1813, war	26,402	995
June, 1815, war	19,291	822
January, 1819, peace	7,126	576

CHAPTER III.

Staff and Troops of the Engineer Department.

The corps of military engineers is under the supreme direction of the master-general of the ordnance, who is its titulary colonel. The lieutenant general of the ordnance is colonel-en-second of the same corps; but this rank is merely honorary.

The real commandant of the officers and troops of the engineers, is the inspector-general of fortifications. It is through him that all orders pass relative to the personnel, as well as the matériel of this arm. Nevertheless, by a strange contradiction, of which the organization of the military force of Great Britain furnishes more than one example, the inspector-general of fortifications is neither borne upon the strength of the army under this title, nor as director of the personnel of the engineers. In

order, therefore, to give the inspector-general of fortifications a station superior to that of a colonel, he is supposed to fill the functions of an officer on the staff of an army actively employed; and receives all the emoluments as such. But, as the supposed expense of such a staff appointment could not formally appear upon the estimates, it is included in the article of forage for the horses of the ordnance. The yearly emoluments of the inspector-general amounted in 1811 to £4,638 charged upon the state in this manner.

According to the establishment of 1808, the inspector-general has, under his immediate orders, a deputy, a major of brigade, and an adjutant, all three engineer officers, a geographical engineer, two clerks, and a messenger. The major of brigade performs the duties of adjutant to all the troops of the engineer department, and resides at Woolwich, as the head-quarters of the forces of the ordnance. The adjutant is attached specially to the corps of military artificers, and resides at Chatham, near the school of sappers and miners.

The accounts of the works and personnel of the engineers are kept in the ordnance-office. The returns relative to these accounts, presented annually to parliament, are signed by the clerk of the ordnance.

Since the wars of our revolution, the engineer corps has been very much augmented; this will be seen by the following table:

Ranks.	1792.	1814.	1819.	*Daily pay.* 1809. *s.* *d.*
Chief engineer	1	0	0	0 0
Colonels commandant	5	5	4	44 0
Colonels	0	10	9	26 0
Lieutenant-colonels	5	25	22	{ 18 1 16 1
First captains	11	49	36	16 1
Second captains*	12	46	33	11 1
First lieutenants	22	82	65	6 10
Second lieutenants	12	10	33	5 7
Totals	68	227	202	

Thus then, in 1819, the body of engineer officers was four times more considerable than it had been in 1792. The reason for a portion of this increase will appear, if we consider the immense additions which have been made to the British possessions in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. The English have successively possessed themselves of all the military positions which could give security to their empire of the sea. It has, therefore, become necessary to augment and preserve the fortresses which defend these important posts, and consequently to add considerably to the strength of the engineer department.

* In 1792, these captains had the title of captain-lieutenant. *Author.*

It is to be observed in the table given above, that the officers, specially attached to the sappers and miners, are not included; we shall state their numbers when we speak of the troops of the engineers.

When the engineers are on active service in the field, or on foreign stations, they receive an augmentation of pay equal to their ordinary emoluments; when employed on home service, this augmentation is only equal to one half of their common pay: but during the last war, there was joined to this increase by one half, a second moiety, under the term of pay for field service; making the advantages of officers peaceably employed in England, as great as those of others, who were exposed to all the fatigues, to all the dangers of service, and of the most malignant climates.

Besides the allowances which we have mentioned, the engineers, serving in fortresses, have a right to all the grass on the works.*

The engineers are specially charged with the preparation of plans, and estimates for build-
ings, and works, and with the superintendence and direction of labors of every description, which are executed by the orders of the department of the ordnance. It is sometimes the inspector-general who prepares these plans and

* That of the glacis belongs to the governor.—*Tr.*

estimates, but more commonly the engineer himself, who is to direct the work; in this latter case, his suggestions are submitted to the examination of the inspector-general. If he is not satisfied with the project presented to him, and the business is of importance, he examines the localities personally, or causes them to be examined by a committee of engineers chosen for the purpose by himself; and, if he judges it to be necessary, he adds to the plans laid before him such works as will render the system complete. The projects being thus corrected, completed, and improved, are submitted to the master-general and board of ordnance, whose decisions and orders are then forwarded to the inspector-general, and officers charged with the execution of the works.

The erection of new fortifications, and even the extension of those actually in being, has always been regarded in Great Britain as an affair of state. The estimates of expense for accomplishing such an object, are presented for the determination of the cabinet of responsible ministers, and for the special inspection of the first lord of the treasury. The estimates for the maintenance and repair of fortified places must be submitted, in like manner, to the examination of this lord, as well as the detail of all extraordinary charges,

Although the master-general of the ordnance is perfectly independent of the Commander-in-chief, he always procures his assent to new projects for fortifications; if this preparatory measure were neglected, the first lord of the treasury would refer the estimates of the expense of these plans to the Commander-in-chief for his opinion upon them.

The commissioners of military inquiry offer some remarks worthy of notice, upon the subject of the estimates of charges for engineer works. These estimates annually submitted to parliament, specify nothing, even for long and great undertakings, but the expenses to be incurred in the particular year, for which the funds are demanded. Instead of following this method, the ministry ought, at the first moment of their proposing to the House of Commons to defray the cost of any military work, to make it clearly understood what the grand total of the charges for the work in question will be, supposing it complete in all its parts. Then the legislature would discover whether the new demand which it is proposed to make upon the state, is, on the one hand, proportioned to the public resources, and, on the other, to the advantages to be derived by the country from the undertaking.—It too often, on the contrary, appears, that the only point of attainment for a

ministry, is once to engage the parliament in the expense of a work, the extent and cost of which are carefully veiled; with the conviction, that, after having devoted considerable sums to the commencement of such an undertaking, the amount itself of the expense already incurred, will be an argument for obtaining other grants yet more considerable, in order, it may be said, not to lose the benefit of sacrifices already offered for an object of public utility. I dwell designedly upon these sensible reflections of the Commissioners of Inquiry, as they may one day find their application in the examination of estimates by our French Chamber of Deputies.

The erection and maintenance of the barracks, as well as of the civil buildings of the ordnance, belong, in a great degree, to the engineers. In each military district of the three kingdoms, one or more officers of the corps direct such works. They must in like manner superintend those, of which the general commanding the district requires the execution, and for which the same general supplies them with the requisite funds.

It was only in the course of the last war, that the military works of Ireland were placed under control of the inspector-general. In a great many of the transmarine possessions, the plans do not fall under the examination for ap-

proval of the inspector-general of fortifications, but under that of the general commanding the territory, in which works are to be constructed. The engineers execute such labors provisionally, and render account to the inspector, once in every year, of the whole of the works which they execute or project; if these operations present any well-founded objection, the inspector reports accordingly to the master-general of the ordnance. This rapid procedure in works on foreign stations is indispensable for the ordinary services of maintenance and repairs which admit of no delay; but for extensive and durable works, the projects of engineers should always be submitted to the examination of the inspector, the approbation of the master-general of the ordnance, and the control of parliament.

Independently of the inspector-general of fortifications, an architect, since the year 1782, to the ordnance department, is occasionally charged with the duty of offering plans and estimates for civil and military buildings. Instead of having, like the architects of the barrack department, two and a half, or three and three quarters per cent. upon the charge of construction and maintenance, he has only a fixed appointment, much less burthensome to the state.—He is, or at least was during the

war, assisted by a second architect.—He revises the accounts of contractors, and visits the works where it is necessary. These works are superintended by accountants having the title of permanent clerks of the ordnance. In 1805 was established the office of inspector of materials for building, filled by a military engineer, and that of principal clerk of the works, confided to an experienced carpenter or joiner, with the immediate direction of buildings and repairs of secondary importance; he assists the architect in the more considerable undertakings. All the materials necessary for the construction of edifices upon foreign stations, all intrenching and workmen's tools, before the giving of receipts for them, are examined, either at Woolwich, or at the Tower of London, by the inspector of building materials, aided by the master-workmen of the arsenal of Woolwich. The construction and repair of ordnance buildings are directed, in some places, by the military engineers; in others, by a clerk of the works. The engineers generally execute them by daily work, the clerks by job-work; the latter is certainly a preferable plan.

The ordnance barracks have been, since the year 1805, under the general superintendence of an inspector; the barrack-masters of the troops of artillery and engineers are under his

orders, in the same way that those of the general service are under control of the heads of the barrack department.

If we compare the works of the civil department of the ordnance with those of the barrack-office, we shall find them conducted with infinitely more order and economy. All the individuals of the ordnance have fixed salaries; each operation is never executed, and admeasured by the same person; the superintendence is effectual, the biddings for contracts are held publicly at a fixed period of the year, and in the season of greatest cheapness; all the furniture, before it is received, is examined by the agents of the ordnance. The pecuniary accounts are regulated with no less care, exactness, and above all, rapidity; and, if defects do exist in the conduct of a service so well combined, they are only secondary, and of easy remedy.

Military Geographical Engineers.

The inspector-general of fortifications is at the head of a corps of military geographical engineers, the establishment of which is dated from 1806. Before that epoch, there was, at the Tower of London, a room for drawing, for individuals of the civil service, of whom those best

qualified for active employment subsequently received military rank, as well as several draftsmen engaged in the trigonometrical survey of Great Britain. The duty of the corps of geographical engineers is to make plans and maps, both for home and foreign service:—they have been particularly employed in the labors of that beautiful survey of which we have just spoken, and intend to offer, hereafter, more ample details.

Troops of the Engineer Department.

The troops of the engineer department in Great Britain originally bore the appellation of Royal Artificers. The Duke of Richmond, one of the most able masters-general ever at the head of the ordnance, instituted this corps towards the close of the war against the colonies of America. He formed them into companies, independent both in organization and accounts, in order that they might be employed separately in the different fortresses of the British empire. These companies were rather considered by their own officers as civil artificers, regularly united and engaged under control, than as a corps of military workmen, employed in war as well as in peace, in the labors of the art of war.

There were independent and permanent companies at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Chatham, Dover, and Gibraltar. Other companies were also occasionally stationed at different places, either where new works were to be erected, or the old fortifications repaired.

The captain of engineers, who commanded the company, was entirely charged with recruiting, disciplining, and exercising it; as far as the latter point appeared necessary either to him, or the senior engineer officer of the place, which generally amounted to nothing.

The inconveniences, confusion, and disorder which resulted from such a system were manifest. One captain of engineers was then employed to recruit for all the companies of artificers: he resided at Woolwich with the title of adjutant. At Woolwich the recruits were clothed, equipped, and exercised, during a certain time, like soldiers of infantry, under inspection of the adjutant, who appointed them afterwards to the different companies, according to the demands which were made upon him. The men thus gained more or less of a military spirit; but they remained ignorant of the most important duties which the soldiers of the engineer service are destined to perform in the field, and in sieges.

The artificers, who were no longer fit for their

work, were in like manner sent back to Woolwich, to be discharged or invalided.

In a short time, the officer charged with these duties at the depôt received the title of major of brigade, instead of adjutant: he is at present entrusted with the correspondence of the whole corps relative to promotions, destination, and movement of companies, the transmission of circulars, conveying general orders, &c. The major of brigade receives from the inspector-general of fortifications, the orders respecting the movements of troops, as well as instructions for his correspondence with the heads of corps.

Until 1811, every company was invariably attached to its garrison, whether in Great Britain or on foreign stations. There were thus a great number of artificers who grew grey under arms, without ever having set foot in a transport, or made a day's march beyond their garrison. With regard to the artificers stationed in the transmarine possessions, their residence there was, in fact, a transportation for life: they married in such numbers, that there were more children to a company, than in a battalion of the general service. The superiority of pay only increased their insubordination and misconduct. At Gibraltar, as well as in America, recruits were taken for these companies from

regiments of the line returning to England; the colonels thus freed themselves of their worst subjects, and would suffer none others to quit their corps. Whenever any expedition was formed, small detachments were drawn from the stationary companies to attend it; the captains always kept back their best instructed, most orderly, and most intelligent men, and, to get rid of the rest, sent them on service to the war companies. "Such detachments (says Colonel Pasley, from whom we have borrowed the greater part of these details) were so bad, that, in the last war, it was thought proper to organize supernumerary companies of foreigners, rather than to form fresh bodies of artificers for service from such a collection of the dregs of the English companies."

During the war in Spain and Portugal, the corps of British military artificers was very badly organized, and much too weak in numbers, as well as deficient in instruction. The officers of engineers, badly seconded in the execution of the works which they directed, came to be regarded as infinitely less skilful than they really were, and than they would have appeared, if they had had well-instructed workmen under their orders.

Since the year 1811, the artificers have been no longer employed, except in entire compa-

nies. In 1812, the corps took the title of "royal sappers and miners." At this epoch, under the administration of Lord Mulgrave, as master-general of the ordnance, and about a year after Lieutenant-general Mann took the command of the engineer department, as inspector-general of fortifications, those improvements commenced which have taken place in the instruction of the young officers and soldiers of this corps; it was then that the school for their practical tuition was established at Chatham. To that place recruits are now sent, after having been formed for some time at Woolwich to the infantry exercises. If the two branches of instruction were carried on at the same depôt, and simultaneously, the recruits would learn more in a shorter period.

The artificers formed at Chatham have been found excellent, not only for the execution, but the direction of works; they have been exercised in the three military arts of sapping, mining, and the laying of pontoons. The bridge thrown over the Adour in 1813, was the joint construction of these artificers, and of sailors.

Before the battle of Waterloo, 18,000 peasants, and 2000 horses were employed for some months by the British general in fortifying the frontiers of Belgium; these works were con-

ducted with equal rapidity and intelligence. It would have been impossible for the small number of engineer officers attached to the British army, to have, of themselves, directed all these labors; but the non-commissioned officers, and even the mere soldiers of the engineer department, were able to act as overseers, and each of them superintended, according to localities, from twenty to one hundred workmen. In the last war in Canada, the same system was followed with similar advantage.

The instruction of these artificers of the engineers, far from rendering them presumptuous and mutinous, has produced, on the contrary, the happiest effects upon their activity, conduct, and character.

Service of the Troops of the Engineer Department with the Army.

In the war which preceded the peace of Amiens, and even during the first campaigns in Portugal, the English engineer officers, employed in sieges, had seldom with them more than twenty military artificers; the greater part of them were bad, from want of previous instruction on the duties of sieges.

The engineers had no means of transport. The department of the ordnance conveyed the

matériel of the engineer service, as they did every other kind of stores, without persons exercised in the management of them, and without any corps of the train for their regular transmission. It was therefore necessary to press carriages from the peasantry, or to borrow men, horses and waggons, from the infantry, artillery, or commissariat. In 1814, the British general was desirous of terminating these inconveniences; and he caused a brigade of engineers to be attached to each division of his army. Every brigade consisted of a company of sappers and miners, with drivers, horses and carriages, for the conveyance of intrenching tools, in sufficient quantity for the work of 500 men. A captain, and proportion of subaltern officers, were specially attached to each brigade, as responsible for the presence of the men, and effective condition of the horses; while the rest of the engineers, free from the charge of the personnel and matériel, had no other occupation than in military works. Five companies of sappers and miners served with the pontoon train, which consisted of eighty pontoons, without reckoning forges, waggons, &c.: the whole train was drawn by nearly eight hundred horses. This corps all together was under orders of a brigade-major of engineers.

In the campaign of 1815, twenty engineer

officers remained in Belgium; forty-one followed the army; they commanded eight hundred sappers and miners, five hundred and fifty conductors, or drivers of the train, one hundred and sixty waggons and other carriages, and more than one thousand horses: they were seconded by an assistant commissary and six clerks of the ordnance, with veterinary and army surgeons. To each division of the pontoon train were attached some Flemish sailors, accustomed to the navigation of the rivers and coasts.

The conductors of the engineer train, part of whom were hired in Belgium, and the remainder borrowed from the artillery, served very badly, and often deserted; they were replaced by sappers, who readily accommodated themselves to this duty, and answered extremely well. The English engineers are anxious that their department should thus have its own train and equipage. They are induced to see nothing but advantage in a system, which would increase their attributes and their importance to the army. They would instruct the conductors of the train in the arts of sapping and mining, and would make them, say they, apply to the labors of fortification, when they are not employed in duties relative to their horses.

The strength of the corps of military arti-

ficers in the year 1803, formed a total of 766. From this period, until they became sappers and miners, their numbers were continually increasing, and in 1811, their force had attained its maximum of 2,861 men. At the peace of 1814 this amount was somewhat reduced, and during the hostilities of the following year it never exceeded 2,421; the present peace establishment is 744.

The following was the proportion of artillery and engineer force attached to the army of occupation in France in 1818:

Engineer department	Officers	35
	Sappers and miners	428
Artillery	Foot (officers included)	847
	Horse, three troops	526
	Train	1247
Surgeons		12
Commissaries and assistants		6
Clerks of the matériel, and conductors of the same		17
		3,118

Towards the close of 1818, the army of occupation evacuated France, and then a force, almost equal in number to that army, was disbanded, in a very short period.

In 1817, the parliamentary committee of finance, after having laid before the House, a table of the increase of troops of the ordnance generally, from 1803, and throughout the war;

and of their reduction since the peace, proceeded to make the following observations:

"Your committee here experience great satisfaction in observing the unceasing and prompt attention which has been evinced to economy. Although your committee abstain from advancing any opinion on the effective of these corps, as a constituent part of an armed force, yet as a depôt of military experience and science, and as schools for the instruction of a great number of men, whom it is important to hold in readiness for service as occasion shall require, your committee do not hesitate to recommend to you that, by your grants, these corps shall be at all times maintained on a footing answerable to such important objects."

BOOK VI.

OF THE WAR AND PEACE ESTABLISHMENT.

CHAPTER I.

Of the War Establishment—Levy and Recruiting of Troops.

In those chapters, wherein we have especially treated of the different arms, we have exhibited the composition of each corps in particular, in the two conditions of war and peace. We have now, therefore, only to consider the total of those arms in one connected view, in order to afford a general picture of the forces of Great Britain.

We shall precede this sketch by some fresh observations upon the service of the infantry. In time of war, the greater part of the regiments of infantry are augmented to two battalions, the second of which remains in Great Britain, and is charged with the recruitment and training of the whole. By this means, the army on active service is composed of the flower of all the corps, and the young soldiers are not exposed to all the fatigues of war,

before they have served some period of apprenticeship to the rough trade of arms.*

The oldest officers of each rank belong of right to the war battalion. When there are vacancies in the first battalion, they are invariably filled by officers of the same rank who are serving in the second. This measure has the advantage of summoning every officer, in the routine of promotion, to the field of honor, but it also offers very great inconveniences. An officer who has distinguished himself by his conduct on service with the war battalion, and who possesses, besides, sufficient money to purchase the promotion† which he has merited by his talents and valor, is obliged to quit the army where he might render the greatest service, and is only promoted to oblige him to perform the obscure duties of a garrison officer, in some of the military stations in Great Britain

* The author is so far correct in this statement, that it was the general rule to keep the second battalion on home duty, while the first was on actual service; but the prodigious efforts made by Great Britain, in almost every country of the world, often rendered it requisite to have both battalions of the same regiment on service together. In such case, the depôt company in England performed the duties of levying and training recruits, instead of the second battalion.—*Tr.*

† This is another instance of the author's impression that purchase is the only channel of advancement in our service. —*Tr.*

or Ireland. The only resource of the government is, therefore, to bestow, upon officers in the field, honorary rank which does not interfere with their station in their regiments. There are thus lieutenants who are captains, captains who are majors, and majors who are lieutenant-colonels, but who are not the less obliged to obey the officers senior to them in the corps, though holding a lower rank in the army.* All this is absurd, and destructive of that emulation which it is so requisite to excite, by every possible means, in the body of officers of a well organized army.

In speaking of the recruiting, we shall show the different methods adopted by the English

* The promotion by brevet, which has certainly some inconveniences, is however unavoidable, where regimental promotion is not sufficiently rapid for the reward of meritorious service; nor has the subject any connection, as the author supposes, with the transfer of officers from one battalion to another. If both battalions are on service together, the officers who are placed in situations to give them a claim to brevet promotion, may still not always be the seniors of their rank in the regiment, and it would only be possible to deny them advancement for this reason, by establishing a rule, entirely fatal to zealous and honorable ambition, that no one shall step out of the regular succession of seniority. There is yet another trifling inaccuracy to correct in our author. He is wrong in imagining that any lieutenants have the brevet of captain; except in the Foot Guards, where it is general in that rank.—*Tr.*

government to give a gradual increase of efficiency to its military force. At present we have to state the amount of that force during the last war; a period of greater exertion on the part of Britain than any other epoch in history.

To judge of the military forces of Great Britain, it will be necessary to consider them under the two points of view of the defensive, and offensive systems. The most striking exemplification which can be desired, is afforded by the late war.

In the spring of 1803, the British government resolved upon a renewal of hostilities against the French republic; the first consideration was to prepare the means of defence, and one month before the declaration of war, the national militia was incorporated under the following heads:

	Regiments.	*Battalions.*	*Men.*
England	56	76	51,443
Scotland	15	15	9,540
Ireland	38	38	22,857
Total Militia of the three kingdoms			83,840

To add to this defensive force, an army of reserve was raised, like the militia, by means of ballot, upon condition of serving only in the

three kingdoms and the islands adjacent. The command of the corps of this army was bestowed upon officers from half-pay, and old fencible officers. On the 9th of December, 1803, the army of reserve presented the following numbers:

	Present.	*To be raised.*	*Total.*
England (rank and file)	24,480	9,004	33,484
Scotland . ditto	4,103	1,894	5,997
Ireland . . ditto	5,579	4,521	10,100
TOTAL	34,162	15,419	49,581

At the same epoch, of the 9th of December, 1803, the force of volunteers amounted as below:

GREAT BRITAIN.

Rank and File	Yeomanry cavalry	33,992
	Infantry	309,544
	Artillery	8,917
Officers and non-commissioned officers		39,233
	Total	391,686

IRELAND.

Rank and File	Cavalry	10,277
	Infantry	64,756
Officers and non-commissioned officers		7,908
TOTAL of the volunteers of the three kingdoms		474,627

The grand total of the British armed forces at this period will then stand thus;

Volunteers of the three kingdoms	474,627
Army of reserve, ditto	34,162
Militia . . . ditto	83,840
Total force purely defensive	592,629
Regular army (rank and file)	150,000
Navy (sailors and marines)	100,094
Army of the East Indies, above	160,000
General Total of the British forces in December 1803	1,002,723

From this period, until the year 1814, the increase of the regular forces was constant and progressive. In 1804, including the permanent militia, they amounted to 236,112 rank and file; without them, to 150,593. In 1808, regulars and militia, the army numbered 294,104; regulars alone, 226,427. In 1814, the regular army with the militia amounted to 324,971, and exclusive of militia, to 261,215. At the first of the three epochs which we have given, the foreign corps in British pay mustered 17,039 rank and file; in 1808 they were 37,217 strong, and in 1814, reached a total of 52,057. The force of the militia had rather diminished from their volunteering into the line.

It is necessary to observe, that, from the year 1808, the militia became a regular and permanent description of troops, differing in no point of organization and discipline from infantry of the line, but reserved expressly for the defence of Great Britain, and thus afford-

ing the power of employing a portion of the regular army, to the same amount as their numbers on foreign service.

We shall now give the distribution of the British forces on the 24th of June 1814, that is to say, at the close of the war.

Troops.		*Home service.*	*Foreign service.*	*Total.*
Cavalry	British	11,460	15,159	26,619
	Foreign and Colonial	1,268	3,169	4,437
Total		12,728	18,328	31,056
Foot Guards		2,679	5,795	8,474
Infantry	British	43,232	105,253	148,485
	Foreign and Colonial	1,628	44,465	46,093
Total, forces of the line		60,267	173,841	234,108
Incorporated militia		63,756		63,756
Total		124,023	173,841	297,864
Troops of the Ordnance.				
Artillery	Horse	1,281	1,093	2,374
	Foot	8,706	6,907	15,613
	Foreign	346	1,247	1,593
Total of Artillery		10,333	9,247	19,580
Sappers and Miners		1,000	1,135	2,135
Total of the Ordnance		11,333	10,382	21,715
General effective of the land army		135,356	184,223	319,579

Here we may see the military system of Great Britain clearly developed. In 1814, at the moment when the French marine was totally destroyed beyond the power of a hostile effort; at the moment, also, when the grand

army of France, twice annihilated, first by the ravages of a northern winter, and again by a campaign in Germany, scarcely less destructive, was reduced to defend the territory of its country against the general levy of the people of all Europe; at that moment, even, Great Britain did not forsake the principles of her ancient prudence. She retained, for the defence of her home dominions of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 135,356 men of regular troops, without taking into account the local militia, a corps of defence of very considerable strength, without including the yeomanry cavalry, a force of greater numbers than the whole of the regular horse.

With respect to the 184,223 men serving abroad, two-thirds of that amount were employed in the protection of the transmarine possessions of Britain, and one-third only took part in the active warfare of the continent. Yet, with only this moderate contingent, England was the soul of the coalition, by her subsidies, her supplies of arms, clothing, and stores of every description, and, above all, by her steady and profound policy.

Montesquieu, in his Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness and Fall of the Romans, has left us an observation full of acuteness, and extremely applicable to the facts of which we

are speaking. "Carthage," says he, "employed a stronger force to attack Rome than to defend herself; her rival, on the contrary, armed a prodigious number of men against Hannibal and the Gauls, when they severally attacked her, but she dispatched no larger army than two legions against the most powerful kings; it was thus that she immortalized her prowess." (Chap. IV.)

The British have, in this respect, followed the Romans. They enrolled more than a million of men for the defence of their territory, but, in assuming the offensive for the support of Portugal, and the deliverance of Spain, they had never more than forty thousand of their national troops upon the field of battle; the army of Egypt did not exceed one half of that number. We have seen the results of this wise policy.

The forces, of which we have given an enumeration, do not include the troops of the East India Company, in themselves composing a great army.

On the 25th of December, 1813, the following portion of the regular army, whose general numbers on foreign service have been already stated, were employed in India.

5 Regiments of British cavalry . . .	5,645	rank and file
19 Battalions of British infantry . . .	23,147	ditto
Total . . .	28,792	

And this force formed scarcely one-eighth of the army of the Indies. The following table, submitted to the House of Commons in March, 1819, from the latest returns, will show the numbers of the military under the British standard in that country:

British Royal troops	Cavalry .	4,692	. . 22,550
	Infantry .	17,858	
European troops of the Company	Infantry .	3,120	. . . 7,703
	Artillery .	4,583	
Native troops of the Company	Cavalry .	11,011	. . . 152,585
	Infantry .	132,815	
	Artillery .	8,759	
Native irregular forces under the Company	Cavalry .	7,659	. . . 24,741
	Infantry .	17,082	
Invalids and Pensioners			5,875
General Total of the forces of British India			213,454

On the 11th of May, 1814, before the reductions to a peace establishment commenced, the total of officers of all ranks in the British army amounted to 15,424.

Assuming, therefore, the army of India to have been at that period of the same strength as by the returns of a few years subsequent; that is, 190,904 men, without the king's troops, we shall be able to form a tolerably correct estimate of the total war establishment of Great Britain, at the close of the great contest of our age.

Forces of Great Britain,	Officers	15,424
	Rank and file . .	319,579
Forces of the East India Company		190,904
Grand Total		525,907

Without including local militia, yeomanry-cavalry, royal marines, and sailors.

If we now proceed to consider the strength of different corps, we shall find, by the estimate of 1814, that the average numerical force in regiments of the respective arms, was thus proportioned:

	Men.
Life Guards, each regiment	673
Horse Guards	816
Foot Guards, first regiment	4,782
Ditto, second and third ditto, each	2,689
Dragoons, per regiment	960
Infantry, per battalion	944

A few of the regiments of infantry had only one battalion each, three regiments had three battalions each, one had four, one had eight, and all the rest two battalions. The regiment of eight battalions was the Sixtieth, specially destined for the West India service, and recruited, in a great measure, by Germans. This corps amounted, in 1813, to more than 9,000 men.

Of the Levying and Recruiting of Troops.

It is not sufficient to inquire what is the extraordinary effort that a people, who love their institutions, can make at a moment of imminent danger; we must, also, examine the methods

which they employ for maintaining the strength of their forces, after the first burst of enthusiasm has produced its effect. It is important, also, to learn whether the armies which they succeed in raising, and keeping on foot, are not so disproportioned to the population, that they become, in relation to the internal prosperity of the country, a cause of distress and ruin. These are the objects to which our research will now be directed.

In England, whatever be his age or rank, no citizen can be obliged to enrol himself under arms, except for the defence of the territory; he cannot be made to serve in the army which is destined for offensive war. This distinction, which seems the dictate of humanity, is also worthy of a free people. It will be seen how it has operated in rendering the government frugal of British blood. But the law does yet more; it offers to misfortune and to improvidence a resource against every enrolment which has been contracted in a moment of drunkenness or despair. The Mutiny Act, which appoints and specifies the annual force of the army, provides that, within four days after a voluntary enlistment, the recruit shall be conducted before a justice of the peace, or other civil magistrate, who is to read to him

the articles against desertion and rebellion, and to require of him the oath of allegiance. If the soldier wishes to revoke his engagement, he may at that moment do so, on paying twenty shillings for the expenses of his enlistment.

Voluntary recruitment being the only means which can be legally resorted to, for the levy of men for the regular service, it has been found necessary, under important exigencies, to adopt all possible means of rendering this resource efficacious. These means are worth investigating. Originally each captain was charged with the duty of recruiting for his own company. When its establishment had once been completed, he was allowed the pay of two soldiers in time of peace, and of five during warfare, to enable him to maintain it in full numbers and efficiency. In all other cases, the pay saved on the non-effective of corps served to complete the vacancies. There were, also, circumstances under which the recruiting was carried on by regiments, under the immediate superintendance of their colonels. It does not appear that the government subjected recruits to any preliminary inspections.

The present commander-in-chief has caused these anomalies to disappear. It will be sufficient to notice some of the more remarkable

provisions of the regulations of 1806, which were established for the recruiting service at his instance. England was divided into fifteen recruiting districts, Scotland into four, and Ireland into eight.* In each district the operations were directed by an inspector, (a field-officer) who was assisted by an adjutant, a serjeant-major, and a serjeant. He received the reports, and superintended the operations of the regimental recruiting officers dispersed in his district.† Finally, a military surgeon was employed under his orders in examining recruits, and pronouncing upon their rejection, or provisional enrolment.

* The recruiting for the royal guard, the artillery, engineers, and marines, is entirely independent of the district inspectors of the same service for the rest of the army.—*Author.*

† Towards the close of the late war, the system of detaching as many officers, as there were recruiting parties, from a regiment, was abolished, and a much preferable arrangement introduced. The recruiting districts were parcelled out into subdivisions, each in charge of one officer on the general and permanent recruiting service, who was placed under orders of the inspecting field-officer, and responsible for all the parties in his subdivision from different corps of the army. These parties were commanded by non-commissioned officers of regiments. The recruiting service has thus been carried on full as efficiently as formerly, with one-fourth of the number of officers, and is no longer sought as a lounge for the purpose of evading regimental duty.—*Tr.*

The inspectors were subordinate, and rendered account to the inspector-general of the recruiting service, who pronounced definitively upon the reception of volunteers. The place of inspector-general, created in 1778, was, however, suppressed in 1807, and his functions performed by the adjutant-general of the forces, with the exception of the definitive approval of recruits, which was transferred to boards, established near the depôts.

In France, the examination of recruits was specially intended to prove to them that they were capable of serving; in England, recruits were inspected, to ascertain that they were not unfit for the service. It was enjoined to the English recruiting officer, to receive no man who was not well made; young men who enlist must have their limbs well proportioned, their arms long, their chests open, &c.

The law has provided heavy penalties against every apprentice who endeavours to enlist without his master's consent; and against every soldier who engages in any other corps than his own, by concealing his military station.

The following is a table of the age and height required (in 1806) for admission into the cavalry and infantry.'

	CAVALRY.			INFANTRY.		
	Age. Years.	Heavy.	*Light.	Age. Years.	Particular Corps.	General Service in India.
		f. in.	*f. in.*		*f. in.*	*f. in.*
Men	25	5 7	5 7	30	5 5†	5 4
Growing Youths	18	5 6	5 5	17to19	5 4	,,
Service in India .	18	,,	5 3	18	,,	5 3
Ditto	16	,,	5 2	16	,,	5 2
Exclusive service in India . .	,,	,,	,,	16	,,	5 1

The recruiting service is attended with very considerable charge to the state.—The bounty for enlistment increases with the difficulty of the period; in 1806, the total expense of the enlistment of a trooper was as high as thirteen guineas; that of a foot-soldier destined for general service, sixteen guineas and five shillings; lastly, that of youths under sixteen years of age, ten guineas and five shillings. It is to be observed, that these sums include the reward to the recruiting party, the charge for surgical inspection, the purchase of a trifling equipment necessary for the recruit, &c.

* A recruit for the light cavalry must not exceed 5 feet 9 inches in height.—*Author.*

† The increased difficulty of recruiting towards the close of the war, made it necessary to lower the standard for the infantry to 5 feet 4 inches, nor were recruits rejected at even an inch less than that height.—*Tr.*

Until of late years, the duration of service was indefinite, and the engagement of an English soldier was, therefore, necessarily for life. The parliament have for some time authorized courts-martial to commute in certain cases the sentence of death for perpetual military service; we may hence form a judgment of the idea entertained by the legislature of service for life.*

Towards the close of 1804, when England most apprehended an invasion, the government, in the hope of completing the second battalions of regiments, authorized the commanders of corps to enlist ten boys under sixteen years of age for each company, making one hundred per battalion. These boys were instructed first in marching, and afterwards in the use of the firelock.—They did not commence the performance of military duties until their corporeal strength admitted of their so doing. This care is worthy of praise, but the primitive measure is not the more justifiable; it demands our consideration for a moment.

Who could believe that a youth under sixteen

* The fact is here not quite correctly advanced.—The commutation of sentence of death is for general service for life, *in any part of the world*; which is understood to be for life in the West Indies, or other colonies. There is a strong distinction between such an engagement, and the ordinary one of following the fortunes of a regiment for life.—*Tr.*

years of age, to whom the civil law denies the right of purchasing, or disposing of the least real estate, can, for ever, alienate the property of his own person? A child may sell himself, or rather be sold by his parents, for life, and the difference between the price of enlistment for limited and unlimited service is only one guinea!

When the parents or tutors of a youth under sixteen years of age induce him to enlist for life, *they receive a reward of two guineas!* Such a measure is the height of immorality: it goes to establish a military traffic on the shores of Europe, upon the same principles which encouraged and gave vigor to the odious trade for slaves, with the people of the most barbarous countries of Africa.

The following were the regulated bounties for enlistment at the opening of 1812; that is to say, at the moment when the losses of the Spanish war required the greatest sacrifices on the part of the government to maintain the effective strength of the army.

				For Life.			Limited.		
	feet.	*in.*		£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Men of	5	4	under 25 years of age	23	17	6	18	12	6
Youths of	5	3	under 18 years of age	23	17	6	18	12	6
Boys of	5	2	under 17 years of age	16	14	0	13	0	6
Ditto of	5	0	under 16 years of age for regiments in the East Indies	6	15	6	5	14	6

On the renewal of hostilities in 1803, Great Britain found herself placed under extraordinary

circumstances, which obliged her, as we have had occasion to see in the course of this work, to alter a great part of her military institutions; and in the number, more especially, was the recruiting of the army. This operation was always tardy and difficult, notwithstanding every encouragement;—notwithstanding the employment of every art of management; and, though even the hulks were drained, and the prisons emptied, more than once, to supply the want of soldiers.

The insufficiency of ordinary means being manifest, it was necessary to have recourse to others; and this was done as soon as Great Britain was menaced with invasion. The first plan of the ministry was to raise 50,000 men, and to form a regular militia of them, styled the army of reserve, destined only for defence of the home territory. Those who were drawn for this service had the option of providing a substitute for each, or a payment of twenty pounds to the government; after which they were exempted from draft, for one year only: the greater part of the men, upon whom the lot fell, found substitutes, or paid the penalty. The price of substitutes rose as high as sixty pounds, and the balloting for this force was then interrupted by the great difficulties experienced by the ministry in carrying the

measure into execution; it was not re-established until 1807.

To remedy so many inconveniences, the recruiting was entrusted to parish officers, who were at the same time forbidden to give more than fifteen pounds sterling for a substitute. If these officers failed to complete their levies, the respective counties became responsible for their parishes, and were obliged to pay government a forfeit of twenty pounds for each deficiency. This measure had little success, as might have been expected; for recruiting serjeants were at the time giving from thirty to forty pounds for volunteer recruits.

A new ministry having taken the helm of affairs, other measures were adopted.—The military service was divided into three periods of seven years each:—at the close of the first period, the soldier could demand his discharge, and re-enter the bosom of society; at the end of the second, he had a right to a pension of three shillings and sixpence per week; at the end of the third, his right of pension would be increased to seven shillings a week.—During his service in the two last periods, he was to receive a small augmentation of pay.

When the British government resolved to take an active part in the continental war against the French empire, it was with a perfect

conviction, that a mode of recruiting the army more efficacious than common enlistment would be absolutely requisite: the occasion was perplexing, for the conscription was unknown in Great Britain; but the necessity of the case suggested a plan which removed all difficulties. The ministry obtained permission to recruit the army from the militia, as well as from citizens and peasantry.

The point of difficulty in recruiting in towns or in the country, is to draw a man from the spot of his birth—the roof of his fathers—the ties of his infancy; to tear him, amidst entreaties, tears, and imprecations, from all that he most loves and reverences upon earth. But the young soldier, who is already formed by the regular militia service, has assumed the uniform, and quitted his paternal habitation.—He soon quits also the vicinity of his birth-place; he inhabits a barrack, where there are no associations but those of a military life. Warmly and comfortably lodged, and better fed than any other soldiery in Europe, his situation is, in every respect, very supportable.—Then is awakened in the bosom of the militia-man the sentiment of national honor and of military glory, the hope of promotion, and the desire of reward. The commanding officers of corps exerted their eloquence to induce the young

soldiers to volunteer into the line; and they did so in numbers sufficient to supply all the wants of the service.

We should observe, also, that under difficult circumstances, whole corps of militia generously abandoned their right to serve only for the defence of the home territories. Thus, at the period of the Egyptian expedition, several regiments of Irish militia entered, en masse, into the regular army, and performed signal service under the orders of Abercrombie and Hutchinson.

The difference in character of the inhabitants of the three kingdoms is strongly evinced in the returns of the volunteering from the militia. The Scotchman, prudent, and master over himself, rarely enlists without limiting the duration of his service; the Englishman is, in general, less guarded in this respect; and the Irishman has so little thought of the future, that it is extremely rare to find an individual of that nation who does not engage for life;—this will be seen by the following table.

Enlistments in 1814.		*For a limited Time.*	*For Life.*
After the provisions of the act of 54 Geo. III. c. 5. sect. 12.	English	244	770
	Scotch	27	76
	Irish	0	457
Ordinary Enlistments.	English	443	900
	Scotch	57	160
	Irish	1	108
	Total.	772	2,471

It should be observed, however, that, in the second part of this statement, the enlistment for life of the English, is in smaller proportion to that for limited service than it is usually found to be.

CHAPTER II.

Losses of the Army in Men and Matériel—Captures.

To the eye of the philosopher, one of the greatest advantages of the English laws is, that they afford the government every possible facility for raising an army of defence, while they oppose obstacle upon obstacle to their levying, or promptly recruiting, numerous offensive forces. The ministry must become sparing of blood, which can only be replaced with so much difficulty; they are necessitated to refuse their ambition the indulgence of those hazardous expeditions, which, undertaken with immense forces, intoxicate and corrupt by their success, in the same proportion that their failure occasions exhaustion and despair.

As the results, to which we are about to conduct the reader, are very different from the ideas commonly received upon the same subject

on the continent of Europe, it will be requisite to use particularity in verifying them.

Every year, during war, the adjutant-general of the British forces lays before the House of Commons, a numerical return of the losses of the army, distinguishing the national forces from the foreign and colonial troops, and stating the number of deaths, discharges, reductions, and desertions.

We shall confine ourselves to the results of these documents for the different years of the war with the French empire.

State of the Losses of the Army during the Twelve Years of War with the French Empire.

Years.	BRITISH CORPS.			FOREIGN AND COLONIAL CORPS.			TOTAL.			GENERAL TOTAL.
	Deaths.	Discharges.	Desertions.	Deaths.	Discharges.	Desertions.	Deaths.	Discharges.	Desertions.	
1803	4,591	4,627	4,178	617	1,831	226	5,208	6,458	4,404	16,070
1804	4,861	3,634	4,852	1,258	964	616	6,119	4,598	5,468	16,185
1805	5,888	3,415	6,497	945	914	584	6,833	4,329	7,081	18,243
1806	5,581	3,809	4,466	914	879	1,282	6,495	4,688	5,748	16,931
1807	6,379	3,170	5,021	1,553	708	707	7,932	3,878	5,728	17,538
1808	7,993	4,131	5,059	1,292	859	1,552	9,285	4,990	6,611	20,886
1809	14,476	2,968	4,186	1,867	355	715	16,345	3,323	4,901	24,567
1810	11,560	3,944	3,994	2,037	683	735	13,597	4,627	4,729	22,953
1811	11,670	3,289	4,060	1,778	697	966	13,448	3,986	5,026	22,460
1812	13,406	2,554	4,353	2,436	1,184	1,565	15,842	3,738	5,918	25,498
1813	15,012	3,621	5,822							
1814	12,502	3,429	8,857							

Taking into account the British forces only, from the commencement of 1804 to the commencement of 1814, that is, during those years of the last war which were completely passed in warfare, we shall collect from the above table, that the total of discharges and losses amounted to 179,671 men.—Let us proceed from thence to rate the force of the levies in the same lapse of time.

	Men.
On the 1st of Jan. 1814, the effective force of British corps was	187,926
On the 1st of Jan. 1804, it amounted to	119,441
Augmentation of the effective force of British regular corps between 1804 and 1814. . .	68,485
Total of losses between the same periods. . . .	179,671
Sum . .	248,156

It then follows, that the corps of British cavalry and infantry of the line, to replace their losses, and present an increase of 63,485 men, must at least have received 248,156 recruits.

But, during the years of the same war, the numerical returns of enlistments, submitted to parliament by the adjutant-general, were as follows—

Years.	*By common recruiting.*	*Levy upon the additional Act of Defence.*	*Volunteers from the Militia.*	*Total.*
1803	11,253	,,	,,	11,253
1804	9,430	1,658	,,	11,088
1805	11,677	8,288	13,580	33,545
1806	11,875	5,834	2,968	20,677
1807	19,114	,,	29,108	61,185
1808	12,963	,,		
1809	11,720	,,	23,885	44,700
1810	9,095	,,		
1811	11,472	,,	11,453	22,925
1812	14,432	,,	9,927	24,359
1813	11,285	,,	19,245	30,530
1814	7,989	,,	3,243	11,232
Total	142,305	15,780	113,409	271,494

If from this result, we deduct the levy of 1803, and those of 1814, we shall have a total of 249,003, in place of 248,156, which the calculations of the effectives and losses gave us; these two numbers only offer a difference of 853 men, on immense operations performed by entirely different courses.

In pursuing the different results which we have just traced, we procure for the ten years, the losses of which we have been considering, the following averages one year with another: viz.

Total force, infantry and cavalry	163,035 Men.
Number of deaths	9,682
Do. of discharges	3,453
Do. of desertions	4,833
Total loss	17,968

The proportions below stated may, therefore, be given as the average contingencies of the war against the French empire.

Annual losses upon 100,000 *men.*

Deaths	5,130
Discharges	2,118
Desertions	2,965
TOTAL	11,013

In the six last years of the war, the losses of the British army in the Peninsular campaigns swelled those of the service generally to a greater annual amount; and, if we take the average of losses upon 100,000 men upon those six years only, instead of upon the whole war, we shall find it 11,888, in lieu of 11,013.

The facts we have been detailing deserve a moment's reflection. Strange! that at the epoch when the French army required for its recruitment, one year with another, near 150,000 men per annum, the English army needed but 23,000 men; and that this small number sufficed, not only to cover all losses, but to increase the effective strength of the forces by about 7000 men yearly.

I have seen former ministers of the French empire refuse to believe that it was possible to keep active armies on foot without a much greater annual waste of life. After experience,

acquired in the labors of the conscription, they could not conceive it practicable to maintain the efficiency of a corps of troops, with a less proportion than one-fifth of the whole to repair annual losses. If we reflect upon the different modes employed by the English government to supply all the wants of the soldier; and upon the prudence of military commanders, who never demanded more from the strength of the man, than should form the reasonable limit of his efforts and privations, we shall cease to be surprised at the comparatively trifling losses of the British armies. There can be no doubt that a land army, constantly revictualled by a naval armament, receiving flour when the corn of the country, which is the seat of war, has failed them; and ready-made biscuit, when it would be too difficult and too long operation, to establish and transport field-ovens; supplied with a double ration of meat, when that of bread is altogether wanting; constantly well paid in specie, and to an amount nearly double of the pay of other European troops; treated with the utmost care with regard to the health of the effective, and recovery of the sick; rarely bivouacked and generally protected by tents;* there can be

* I cannot avoid here quoting a striking passage from the "Considérations sur l'Art de la Guerre," by General Rogniat,

no doubt, that such an army will preserve great numbers of men capable of supporting com-

upon the utility of tents. "Let me be permitted," says this experienced soldier, "to protest against a custom, most pernicious to the health and preservation of the troops, which was introduced among us by the revolutionary war; I mean the bivouacking of troops without tents. It is one of the principal causes of that frightful waste of men which has taken place in the last wars, wherein it may be calculated on an average, that the foot soldier did not last above two campaigns. Our unfortunate soldiery, after a fatiguing march in rainy weather, often arrive in the middle of the night on ground soaked with wet where no shelter awaits them. They have neither time nor materials to construct any thing like a shed; they pass the night under a cold and rainy sky without the power of closing an eye-lid; and drag on a painful existence, every moment of which is marked by suffering, the consequence of continual exposure to damp, until in a short time their bodies are enfeebled, they fall sick, and perish miserably. We protest, not under the name of humanity, against this barbarous custom, for there are those who consider the words, war, and humanity, as incompatible; but much in the name of utility. Let it not be kept out of view, that too great a consumption of men is inevitable ruin to a good army, however great the facility of recruiting, because recruits are not soldiers, nor a herd of peasants an army; let it be remembered that the party who preserves most good soldiers will finish in a long contest, by giving law to the other; and that men, weakened by long suffering, lose their courage with their physical strength. It was not without good reason that our ancestors, and the ancients themselves, so enured to fatigue, adopted the use of tents; they knew that the human body needs, for the restoration of its strength and vigor, some moments of re-

mon fatigues, and who must at once have sunk under privations, but for the care bestowed upon them in so praiseworthy a manner. In evincing a desire to spare the blood of its soldiers, the English government had a great advantage; the number of veterans constantly increased in the ranks of the different corps, and the army became daily more capable of performing splendid services.

We shall now have no difficulty in judging whether we can possibly consider an empire, which was protected by a million of armed warriors when it was menaced with invasion, as having too few men for its defence; and, whether or not the moderate rates of recruiting enabled the government to maintain for a long period the forces which were employed on the continent, and husbanded with so much prudence and foresight. But let us see what influence the destruction of warfare actually had upon the British population. From the commence-

pose and of sleep under shelter from a humid or cold atmosphere.

"The want of tents at present reduces our generals to the cruel alternative of destroying their troops by the rain, if they wish to establish them in suitable military positions, or of risking a surprise and route, if they are induced to canton them in villages to afford them shelter from inclement weather."—*Author.*

ment of the eighteenth century to its conclusion, Great Britain passed through nearly fifty years of wars in all parts of the globe; and yet its population, so far from diminishing in numbers, increased in that lapse of time almost eighty per cent.

During the ten first years of the nineteenth century, a war more extended, more furious, more sanguinary than any which had preceded it, raged with an intermission of only two years; and, notwithstanding, the population rose in numbers at a rate double that of the average increase of the foregoing century. We extract the following table from the population returns, published at the periods of census in 1801 and 1811.

Population of Great Britain.

	England.	*Scotland.*	TOTAL. *Great Britain.*
1700	5,475,000	1,048,000	6,523,000
1790	8,675,000	1,567,000	10,242,000
1801	9,168,000	1,649,000	10,817,000
1811	10,488,000	1,865,000	12,353,000

To these facts should be added the remarkable circumstance, that after the peace of 1815, when the British government applied itself seriously to the reduction of the forces for a peace establishment, the disbanding of troops was one of the causes of the sudden

misery, into which the poorer part of the population were plunged at that epoch; all situations which could afford a livelihood were filled, and the disbanded soldiery were thus thrown upon that portion of the people which subsists only by charitable contributions. And yet the reductions were made very gradually.

In concluding this part of the subject, it may be safely asserted, that whatever be the losses of the British armies, no European power will ever triumph over England by trusting to the exhaustion of her population in warfare.

Having thus inquired into the momentous subject of the losses occasioned to the British forces during war in the personnel, we now proceed to a statement of those suffered in the matériel.

At the close of every campaign, a general inventory is taken of all losses in warlike matériel and private baggage, which have been sustained by the army, or by the individuals composing it. It appears, by a return of this sort, relative to the first expedition to Spain, which terminated in the retreat to Corunna, and fall of Sir John Moore, that the losses of private baggage amounted as follows;

	£.	s.	d.
For officers, to	40,700	3	9½
For soldiers, to	21,143	1	0¾
Total . . .	61,843	4	10¼

This would give an average rate of about forty pounds per officer, and one per soldier; a monstrous disproportion !*

With regard to the loss of arms and equipment, and of camp equipage, it will be sufficient to quote the following articles, as the most important, in the same campaign;

Musquets	6,083
Sabres	707
Serjeants' Pikes	272
Drums	201
Tents	251

The loss of arms and equipage, which are the public property, enter into account of the expenses of the army for the replacing of such effects. The returns of loss of property of officers and soldiers are prepared by the quarter-master-general, from documents supplied by the commanders of corps, and afterwards laid before a commission of general officers, established in London, to determine upon the real value of property so lost, and how far the accident might have been avoided. This board

* It should, however, be recollected, that all the private property, which a soldier can lose, is contained in the small compass of his knapsack, and that most of his military equipment is not furnished at his own expense; while the officer has every thing to supply for himself. The remuneration for officers' baggage, it is well known, seldom covers the loss, but that for the soldiers' usually does.—*Tr.*

of claims, as it is styled, may reject or reduce in amount, according to their judgment, the demands for reimbursements which are submitted to their investigation.

Formerly there were several different boards of general officers in London, charged with the operations of military administration in various branches, but it has been found a more simple and convenient plan to unite all these commissions into one, termed the "consolidated board of general officers," composed of twenty-four generals, fifteen lieutenant-generals, and fifteen major-generals. Such a number is beyond doubt much too considerable for all the functions with which the board is charged: but it should be observed that, with many of the members, the place is honorary and purely nominal. There is appointed yearly, from the whole of the board, an acting committee, which, in 1819, was composed of five members,* a general, president, and four major-generals.

The government go further than merely to reimburse to the officers and soldiery, the value of their effects which may have been lost, in

* This is the strength of the committee at present. When it is known that of all the board, they alone are paid, and for those days only on which they are actually sitting on business, it will not be considered of the slightest consequence how large a number of general officers are nominally on the board.—*Tr.*

the field, or on a voyage, by capture by the enemy, or by the misfortune of shipwreck; they also award them, in the same manner as the navy, the property of all captures made by their services during the course of the war.

The division of booty is regulated for all ranks of the British army with no less particularity than it was for the Roman military. There is visible, in both, the same care to bestow almost every thing upon the patricians or leaders, and almost nothing upon the plebeian soldiery. This will appear in the modern instance, by the scale of partition prescribed by the official regulations.

	Shares.		*Shares.*
Field Marshal	2,000	Captain	50
General commanding	1,200	Lieutenant	20
Lieutenant-general	800	Quarter-master of Dragoons	12
Major-general	450	Non-commissioned staff	8
Brigadier-general	300	Serjeant	5
Colonel	150	Corporal	1½
Lieutenant-colonel	100	Private	1
Major	80		

Staff-officers are assimilated in their number of shares to corresponding substantive ranks.

The House of Commons ordered a memorial to be printed which was presented in the name of the Duke of Wellington to the ministry of war and colonies, for the receipt in money of the value of all the public moveable property

which had been captured by his army. It appears by this document, that the general had caused all such property, which had fallen into his hands, or those of his troops in the campaigns of the last war, to be valued, that the amount in money might be afterwards procured from the hands of his government. These captures are thus estimated:

	£.	s.	d.
1st, Arms and warlike stores	285,908	16	2¾
2dly, Provisions, forage, baggage, &c. collected on the field of battle, or captured in different towns . . .	150,000	0	0
3dly, Public property taken in France generally	139,868	3	7¾
4thly, Public property of the city of Bourdeaux	107,026	10	0
5thly, Vessels of war captured at Bourdeaux	81,095	0	0
6thly, Merchant ships taken at Bourdeaux .	96,768	0	0
7thly, American vessels captured there also .	22,048	0	0
8thly, Specie taken at different places . . .	33,735	12	8
TOTAL value of prize-money claimed .	916,450	2	6½

This return is an historical document of a highly curious nature. It shows, in the first instance, that when the British entered Madrid, and other great towns of Spain, assuming the military matériel to be the property, not of the Spaniards, but of the French, they captured the same for themselves. It may further be seen by this paper, that the British army, entering the town of Bourdeaux, and possessing themselves of the merchant vessels which lay in the Garonne, regarded it as an act of great

generosity that they had not seized the ci-devant cargoes which the proprietors had disembarked and stored in the warehouses of the city some days before its capture.*

Part of the troops on home service in Great Britain are constantly engaged against smuggling, and the division of prize money made from seizures of contraband merchandize is re-

* It is much to be regretted that our author has failed to adduce the invariable regard paid by his countrymen to public and private property on the theatre of war as a noble contrast to this shameless conduct of the degenerate sons of Britain; what a lesson might he have taught us from French magnanimity, and respect for the laws of public honor and of humanity! It is really too much to hear a Frenchman of the revolutionary school indulging in sarcasm of this nature against a people, who carried the point of honorable forbearance towards the property of the inhabitants of an enemy's country to a romantic pitch, at the very epoch when the flight of the French eagle was the career of rapine and devastation.

It appears from the author's remarks upon the nominal appropriation to themselves by the British captors of Spanish property taken from the French, that he considers our troops almost as bad as his countrymen, in the supposition that they merely spoiled the robber to seize upon the stolen plunder. He is not aware, or has chosen to forget, that the British did not carry this plunder away with them, but left it in the country, and that it was merely valued to determine the amount of the grant of prize-money to be made to our army by the parliament in lieu of captures from which the troops otherwise derived no advantage.—*Tr.*

gulated with as much care and precision as that of captures in warfare.

"His Majesty feels convinced," say the instructions given to regiments, on the subject of this service, "that the zeal and good conduct of the troops, will not be less conspicuous in their exertions to secure the just revenue, and to promote the important objects connected therewith, than it has been on all occasions, when called on to defend the public rights of the country, and to ensure a due administration of the laws.

"His Majesty is desirous of impressing, in the most forcible manner, on his forces of every description, the very great importance of upholding and protecting those resources, which are indispensably necessary to give their full effect to the exertions of the country, and to enable us successfully to oppose the arms of our inveterate enemy. It must be borne in mind, that any deficiency in these resources, that is created by the success of the smuggler, can be supplied only by fresh and still more grievous burdens on the fair dealer, and on the public at large.

"At the same time that His Majesty calls upon his forces of every description, for their most zealous exertions in the service above en-

joined, he cautions them against any unnecessary act of violence. His Majesty expects that they will do their duty with firmness and alacrity; but in the manner the most conciliatory, and with all the forbearance that is compatible with the attainment of the important object which the legislature has had in view in delegating these powers to the army."

This is the language which should be addressed to the defenders of a free country, and which is at once honorable to the government who held it, and to the soldiers to whom it was directed.

It is not only the troops of the line who are employed in guarding the coast against smuggling; the same duties are performed by the regular and local militia, as well as by the yeomanry cavalry, during the time of their permanent service, when they are under martial law.

The officers who are cantoned for observation of the coast, must begin by acquiring a perfect knowledge of all the roads in the neighbourhood of their cantonments, and of the points of landing on the shores where smugglers could most easily carry on their illicit operations. All requisitions from the revenue officers, to obtain assistance, must be addressed to the officer commanding the nearest post to the spot on which it is requisite to act. If the posts are not at too

great a distance one from the other, instructions are given to the commanders of each, to co-operate with others in their vicinity, according to their ability, in making the seizures which are meditated. The general officers of each district, the officers commanding brigades, and the heads of corps, are all required to concert the best methods of preventing the contraband trade, by every exertion in their power. They are to communicate, in this view, with the principal officers of the collection of revenue in their district, because the practical and local knowledge of these men may suggest, to general, and other military officers, the measures best adapted to frustrate all attempts upon the public income.

As soon as a seizure is declared legal, the value of it is divided among all the soldiers, non-commissioned officers, and officers of the regiment by whom the capture was made; following the rates of division contained in the table which we have already given. As an encouragement, however, more particularly to the detachment by whom the seizure was actually effected, the individuals of it share as follows:

	Shares.
Soldiers, drummers, and trumpeters	5
Corporals	8
Serjeants	12
Serjeant-majors	16
Quarter-masters of dragoons	20
Subaltern officers	40

Officers, above the rank of subalterns, receive nothing more than the proportions allowed by the table of prize money for captures in war. Finally, none but officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers actually present with the corps, or detached on effective duty, have any right to share in the distribution of prize money.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Peace Establishment, Half-pay, Invalids, &c.

The passage from a state of war to that of peace is always a critical moment for the public fortune, and the liberty of nations. During war, a thousand plausible pretexts are afforded by circumstances for suspending the civil laws, and violating the safe-guards of the citizen. It is at first, as if with regret, that authority possesses itself of a temporary increase of power, and of momentary attributes, which there is at the time a secret determination of preserving as long as possible. Prodigal in assurances for times which are only seen in prospect, and holding out flattering pictures of general happiness and liberty at an approaching epoch, it

is the endeavor of the executive to accustom the people to the absence of the advantages and enjoyments of actual freedom. At length, however, the decisive hour of peace must arrive, and it is then that the destiny of nations produces either a return of prosperity, or binds them in oppression and distress, according as the public will is proclaimed, or not, by a legislative power; according as their government is constitutional or arbitrary. These truths have received a memorable exemplification since the peace of 1815, a period of merited disasters for the nations of Europe, because it was one in which they combined in availing themselves of the misfortunes of a single state, for purposes of exaction.

When in 1813, when in 1815, the allies penetrated into the French territories, and declared that they were about to exert a grand and last effort, in the hope of restoring peace to the world, and of being enabled to disband the greater portion of their enormous forces, the majority of their governments were already preparing for the world the measure of their bad faith; for, with the exception of Great Britain and Sweden, they have since all retained the most formidable armaments during a general pacification. Russia keeps on foot 800,000 men; and concentrates a force on her western fron-

tier as the nursery for future invasions. Since the mysterious league of the Holy Alliance, the conscription *en masse* has been established in Poland by the creators of that symbol of eternal peace. Prussia maintains 200,000 men of regular troops; Austria a still greater number; and the larger portion of the petty potentates of the Germanic confederation, trembling at once before their holy allies and their own subjects, imagine that they can best consolidate their thrones by ramparts of bayonets, and, above all, by arbitrary tribunals. Political *espionage* and religious inquisition, are there to be ennobled by the majesty of military executions. Such are the fruits of peace in countries groaning under the sceptre of despotism.

Let us now examine the military reductions which have taken place in Great Britain since 1815.

Since 1816, the expense of foreign corps in British pay has been lessened by three-fifths; that of the regular militia by three-fourths, and that of the army of the line by two-fifths. In 1817, the whole of the regular militia, and foreign corps, without exception, were disbanded. With regard to the troops of the line, they were reduced,

The Cavalry, from 29,663 men to . .	17,062
The Infantry, from 203,440 men to .	105,890

In 1818, there were only under arms,

	Men.
Cavalry	14,116
Infantry	104,116
Total	118,232

And in 1819, the military force, reduced to its minimum, was still less than in the year 1818.

England might, doubtless, have completed the reduction of her army with more rapidity; but the two first years, which followed the campaign of "the hundred days," however unfortunate for the rest of Europe, were a period of extraordinary misery in Great Britain. A vast number of individuals of every profession were, by the stagnation of commerce, on a sudden deprived of all means of subsistence, and that at an epoch when a general scarcity caused a prodigious augmentation in the prices of the common necessaries of life. It would, doubtless, under such disastrous circumstances, and with the spirit of disaffection which then agitated the lower orders of society, have been neither humane nor prudent to disband at one moment, and plunge into misery, great numbers of the soldiery who had grown old in the service, and high spirited with their recent career of glory. Such was the principal cause of the deliberate manner in which the reductions of

the British army were carried into execution, though other motives of national vanity and regard for the military, as well as of ministerial patronage and private interest, probably conspired in warding them off to the latest possible moment.

The strength of the definite peace establishment of Great Britain, as regulated by the estimates of 1819, is composed as follows; the troops serving in India not being concluded:

	Regiments.	*Soldiers.*	*Soldiers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Officers.*	*Horses.*
CAVALRY.				
Life-guards	2	688	875	546
Horse-guards	1	344	430	273
Dragoon-guards	7	2,668	3,179	5,800
Dragoons	2	736	878	
Light-dragoons, (Hussars, Lancers, &c.)	12*	4,416	5,278	
Total Cavalry		8,852	10,640	6,619
INFANTRY.				
Royal-guard	3	5,760	6,508	—
Line	81†	55,182	63,340	—
Total Infantry		60,942	69,848	

* These are, of course, exclusive of four light dragoon regiments serving in India. In his enumeration of the twelve regiments of light cavalry, the author has included the Enniskilling dragoons (the 6th.) which, we believe, are still heavy, and should, therefore, have been classed with the preceding head, making three regiments of dragoons instead of two, and only eleven of light dragoons.—*Tr.*

† Three of these regiments have two battalions each. The

Ordnance.		Soldiers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Officers.	Horses.
Engineers	Corps of officers	203	—
	Sappers and miners	744	—
Artillery	Royal regiment (foot)	5,842	—
	Brigade (of horse)	610	278
	Train	429	128
	Master-gunners	67	—
	Medical department	40	—
Total Ordnance		7,935	406

RECAPITULATION.

	Soldiers.	Soldiers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Officers.	Horses.
Infantry	60,942	69,848	—
Cavalry	8,852	10,640	6,619
Ordnance		7,935	416
General Total*	69,794	88,423	7,035

By this system of reduction, the happy fruits of the principles of the British constitution, the charge for pay and maintenance of the troops, has been reduced in the following manner:

1815	£13,435,392
1816	8,727,994
1817	6,989,498
1818	6,494,290
1819	6,582,803

waggon-train and staff-corps are each included as a regiment in the enumeration of 81.

* In 1819, however, an augmentation of above ten thousand men was made to the peace establishment, by the embodying of the veteran battalions; these have again since been reduced, and the author's enumeration approaches as nearly as possible to the present military force of Great Britain, the African corps being the only corps disbanded since 1819.—*Tr.*

The year 1819 presents a slight increase of expense; because the British troops of the army of occupation, who, during the greater part of 1818, had been at the charge of France, were, in the following year, at that of England altogether. The increase of charges, borne upon the estimates, would have been very much greater in 1819, but for the considerable reductions which were effected immediately after the return to Great Britain of the army of occupation.

Upon every fresh peace, the parliament of England compare the reductions made in the armed force, and in military charges, at the present epoch, with the same amounts after former pacifications. Such comparisons discover whatever changes have been made, whether by the system of government, or by the progress or fall of the empire.—We have availed ourselves of this sort of parallel to procure the subjoined table, which is well worth the attentive consideration of the reader.

Comparative

Comparative Forces of Great Britain in the Years of Peace of 1789 *and* 1819.

	Numerical Force. 1789.	Numerical Force. 1819.	Ratio of 1789 *to* 1819.
Cavalry of the privileged Guard. . . .	779	1,032	100 : 133
Cavalry	3,037	7,922	100 : 260
Infantry of the Guard. .	3,765	5,760	100 : 153
Infantry.	26,234	55,080	100 : 209
Totals. . .	33,815	69,794	100 : 206

It is seen, in the first place, by this table, that the government of Great Britain are very far from having augmented the foot guards, and more particularly the life guards, in a ratio commensurate with the increase of the rest of the army: they cannot, therefore, be accused of having placed on foot a force of guards of a more threatening amount than formerly to the public liberties; and they deserve praise, on the contrary, for the moderation which they have evinced in regulating the numbers of this portion of the military establishment.

We have now to give a comparative statement of the force of British troops serving in the East Indies, in pay of the Company, at the same epochs of 1789 and 1819.

	1789.		1819.
Cavalry.	230	. .	2,560
Infantry.	7,809	. .	15,000
Total. . .	8,039	. .	17,560

From the details which we have offered, it is evident that the peace establishment of 1819 is maintained upon a much more formidable system than that of 1789: but some observations on the subject will make it evident, that this augmentation is not disproportioned to the increase of the possessions and population of Great Britain.—To begin with England and Scotland; the total military force, stationed in the two kingdoms, was,

1789.	12,592	or 100 to 185.
1819.	23,308	

and in Ireland,

1789.	12,000	or 100 to 153.
1819.	18,375	

making the forces in the three kingdoms, as 100 to 169 at the two epochs.

But the population of Great Britain and Ireland at those periods stood thus:—

	1789.	1819.	*Ratio.*
England and Scotland.	10,242,000	14,000,000	100 : 137
Ireland.	3,000,000	4,500,000	100 : 150
Total. . .	13,242,000	18,500,000	100 : 140

It thus appears that the number of soldiers for every million of inhabitants was as follows:—

	1789.	1819.	*Ratio.*
England and Scotland. . .	1,240	1,658	100 : 134
Ireland.	4,000	4,083	100 : 102

By these statements we arrive at the fact, that the force quartered in Ireland did not vary more than by 2 per cent. between 1789 and 1819.—But the number of troops stationed in Great Britain was augmented by a third more than the population. If we reflect upon the immense increase in the numerical strength of the lowest orders of society, who, deprived by misfortune or vice, of the benefits of social life and of all political rights, had every thing to gain, and nothing to fear, from revolution, we shall have no difficulty in admitting that, for the preservation of the laws, and of the public peace, the military force actually maintained on foot, is far from being too considerable: it may even be doubted whether, all circumstances considered, the ministry did not overstep the limits of prudence by an excessive reduction of the army; but the deplorable state into which the prodigality of warfare had plunged the finances of Great Britain, was sufficient to render it impossible to keep larger numbers in pay.

Before the subject of the peace establishment of Great Britain is concluded, it may be interesting to offer a statement which will be conclusive in clearing up an historical doubt, arising from the angry passions of a moment.—In considering the immense evils entailed upon France by the revolution of 1815, as well as the momentary advantages and eventual preponderance which the events of that year produced for Great Britain, a great number of persons, accustomed to attribute during the last thirty years (and sometimes with reason) the calamities experienced by the people of Europe, to this latter power;*—a great number, I say, of such persons, have supposed that the English government favored the return of Napoleon from Elba. They have done little justice to the hatred entertained by that government; a hatred which neither time, nor victory, nor imprisonment, has had power to extinguish.—The statement to which I have alluded, is the following;—showing the numbers of the

* These calamities then were caused, notwithstanding the pacific and unambitious character of Napoleon; notwithstanding all the moderation and humanity of his generals; notwithstanding the chivalrous spirit of honor which banished rapine, violence, and murder, from the French ranks; notwithstanding all these virtues, by the fierce and unprincipled efforts of England to enslave the world!—*Tr.*

British forces at the close of the war of 1814, on the 25th of June, and again on the 25th of December of the same year.

	Cavalry.	*Ordnance.*	*Infantry.*	*Militia.*	*Gen. Total.*
25th June 1814.	31,055	27,107	203,052	63,756	324,970
25th Dec. 1814.	23,674	21,337	175,783	20,372	241,166

I now ask, if it be reasonable to presume that, if the English meditated a renewal, in the spring of 1815, of the contest which threatened ruin to the proud edifice of the holy coalition, they would, between June and December 1814, have disbanded more than 80,000 men, of troops enured to warfare by ten years of continued service, during a struggle so fruitful in great events?

There are yet additional facts to give increased force to these observations.—Between the Christmas of 1814 and the spring of the next year, eight regiments of militia were disbanded, although this description of force had already been diminished by 43,000 men.—All that could be done in "the hundred days" was to levy hastily, and at great expense, 25,907 militia-men, and 9148 soldiers of the line.

It is but justice to observe, in quitting this portion of our subject, that the British government, under circumstances that might have appalled a less energetic administration, have,

by their reduction of the military establishment since the peace, presented a great and beautiful example to the nations of Europe. Let us hope that the voice of the friends of humanity, of the lovers of human happiness, will be exerted with more and more energy, to proclaim the benefits which flow from a cessation of combats; to claim for industry, agriculture, arts, sciences, and letters, the treasures so absurdly dissipated by sovereigns, in overawing their subjects, and menacing their neighbours, by numerous armies. Let us demand, again and again, a general reduction in the military establishments of all the potentates, who declare themselves to be allied by bonds more lasting and indissoluble than those of so many treaties, which they had sworn to observe, in the name of eternal friendship, and trampled under foot, almost at the hour of their formation.

Of the Half-pay, Retired Allowances, and Invalids.

It is not sufficient to be acquainted only with the extent of reductions operated in the British army by the return of peace; it is necessary also to follow the soldier to the moment when the country has no longer need of his services,

and to inquire what support she bestows upon him. The British government will be found to make greater sacrifices than any other in Europe, in favor of the officers and soldiery who have fought under its banners.

Many officers have preserved the whole of their emoluments on retirement from the service; and half-pay is granted, without exception, to all officers whose corps have been reduced. Half-pay was first used as a reward to officers whose services were no further required, on the consolidation of the revolution which placed the third William on the throne of Great Britain. This reward was originally regarded as a temporary assistance granted by the country to the warriors who had defended her.—With such an idea, military men on half-pay were subjected to the martial law, as if they were present under arms; were considered as disposable at the will of government, and forbidden to hold any public employment; a prohibition the more unjust, as officers upon half-pay have always been suffered to fill different situations, with their appointments, when the government deem it advisable. Some years ago, officers on half-pay were released from control of the law military, and placed on an equality with other citizens. Their allowance is looked upon as a

pension for life, suspended only for such time as the individuals possessing it are employed in duties which entitle them to full pay.

By a return submitted to the House of Commons by the ministry, on the 25th of February 1819, the effective numbers of officers of all ranks, placed on half-pay in consequence of reduction to a peace establishment, were as follows:—

Colonels . . .	1	Ensigns and Cornets .	1,214
Lieutenant-Colonels.	180	Paymasters, Adjutants, Quarter-Masters, and Medical-Staff. . .	1,471
Majors.	308		
Captains. . . .	1,663		
Lieutenants. . .	3,071		
		Total. . .	7,908

These 7,908 individuals receive near a million sterling for their mere half-pay: we shall soon see that this sum, however large, is only a part of the remuneration granted for military services.

In the rank of the most noble of rewards, must be placed the pensions granted to the widows and children of officers who have died in the service of their country. It is to Queen Anne that the army is indebted for this benefit; and, accordingly, the support granted to orphans and widows of officers is styled "Queen Anne's bounty."—It is pleasing to find national generosity consecrating the memory of the hand which first dispensed it.

Since 1806, the pensions of widows have been increased by nearly one half.—They are at present established at the rates below detailed :*

	£.	
General Officer.	120	per annum.
Colonel of a Regiment (not a General Officer)	90	do.
Lieutenant-Colonel.	80	do.
Major.	70	do.
Captain and Paymaster.	50	do.
First Lieutenant, Adjutant, and Surgeon.	40	do.
Second Lieutenant, Ensign, Quarter-Master, Assistant-Surgeon, &c.	36	do.
Veterinary-Surgeon and Chaplain.	30	do.

We may observe, as a fresh instance of the gratitude of government towards its old servants, that the widow of an officer, marrying before he was placed on half-pay, has the same right of pension, as one of an officer who has died on service. But, in every case, the widow who marries again loses her pension.

When an officer is killed on the field of battle, one whole year's pay devolves to his widow, a third besides to each of the orphans whom he leaves, as well as for a posthumous child. The officer, who dies in the six months which fol-

* The translator has corrected the table in the original, in which most of the rates were wrong. The widows of staff-officers receive pensions of the regimental rank assimilated to that of their husbands.—*Tr.*

low a dangerous wound, is held to have been killed in action.*

There are widows and orphans of officers' families, who, though not within the precise letter of the advantages warranted by law, are no less worthy, by their misfortunes, of inspiring the government with a generous pity. Every year, therefore, a list of such cases, prepared by the secretary-at-war, is submitted to parliament, under the appellation of "the compassionate list," for which the Commons never fail to grant the necessary supplies.

Non-commissioned officers and soldiers, discharged from the service, have a right of invalid or veteran pension. Those of Great Britain receive this reward from the hospital of Chelsea: those of Ireland from that of Kilmainham. It will be sufficient to explain the most important of these two establishments, which we shall do somewhat in detail.

The spacious edifice of Chelsea, erected in a village which now forms one of the suburbs of London, was commenced by James the First, and destined for a far other object than that to which it was subsequently devoted. That monarch, famous for his acquirements in scholastic

* *Collection of Regulations, published by order of the Secretary-at-War*, p. 489.—*Author.*

learning, and for his love of the subtilties of theological controversy, was desirous of establishing near his throne a centre of disputation upon doctrine and faith; and, with this view, meditated the foundation of a college of fifteen Protestant doctors, with canonries, prebendaries, and whatever else could exempt them from the vulgar cares of humanity. The special object intended for these theologians of the reformed church was, the intrepid maintenance of all points upon which the religious establishment of England differed from that of Rome. This anti-Sorbonne of James received the property of the domain of Chelsea, with the right of using the river Lea to supply London with water.

The seat of the English college, notwithstanding all the zeal of the royal theologian, rose but slowly during the reign of that prince; the building was suspended in the tempestuous times of his son, and the institution expired altogether under the republic. When Charles the Second was restored to his throne, his ambition of rivalling Louis the Fourteenth led him to choose Chelsea for a hospital of invalids; the works were then resumed, and at length finished by Sir Christopher Wren, the celebrated architect, under the reign of William and Mary.

The hospital of Chelsea has not a magnificent appearance; and from being built of a deep red

coloured brick, which has become blackened by the hand of time, possesses much of the air of a common barrack. The principal front presents a large main building, between two pavilions, to which it is joined by a mere ground floor gallery, without any external decoration, or the slightest taste in its proportions. Before this front is a park of considerable depth, and extending in breadth along the whole range of the edifice; a broad and finely shaded avenue, which divides the park equally into two, leads to the central building; and some majestic trees scattered here and there through the grounds, serve to break the monotony of their level. But the whole is embellished by a fine extent of green sward, of a freshness of verdure which the humid atmosphere of England could alone produce. On quitting the park, and crossing the central building, you arrive under a piazza, from whence a very large quadrangular court opens before you. The boundary of this court, facing the spectator, is only determined by a grating, on the other side of which is a regular garden, extending to the edge of the Thames. The right and left sides of the court are formed by two large wings of the building, of the same height as the body of the front. On the frieze of the portico, which faces the Thames, is this inscription:

In subsidium et levamen emeritorum senio belloque fractorum, condidit Carolus secundus, auxit Jacobus secundus, perfecêre Gulielmus et Maria, rex et regina.—Anno Domini MDCXC.

In the centre of the court is a statue of Charles the Second in bronze; it rests upon a small circular pedestal of marble.

Chelsea hospital is reproached with an excessive expenditure, both for the support of its vast buildings, and the emoluments of the governor and a crowd of persons in its service, in every station, and of all ranks. Enormous sums are thus ostentatiously dissipated for the maintenance of the very small portion of invalids actually resident at the hospital. The great number of old soldiers, whose pensions are paid at their several places of residence in the different counties, are not under the eyes of the inhabitants of the capital to exhibit, by their extraordinary dress, the munificence of the government. But, under a system different from that pursued by Great Britain, if the people finally discover how extremely limited is the proportion of those individuals among the old servants of the country, to whom a slight return, for a life of active duty in arms, is awarded by the state, will not such a system have lost all the artificial and meretricious effect which was hoped for from a vain ostenta-

tion? It would surely be more efficacious to distribute numerous pensions in the most economical manner to the military who have retired to their native homes. Dispersed through every part of the empire, they would unceasingly exhort the youth of the country, as well as of the cities, to enter the service of the state. "Fear not," they would exclaim, "to embrace the profession of arms, when your country stands in need of your courage. If you die with honor, you will leave a noble inheritance of glory to your family, to your native land. If you survive fatigue and danger, and have no longer strength to procure your livelihood by labor, you will have no misery to fear, for none of us are forgotten. You will pass an honored old age, with a moderate competence, which, without new privations, will continue the frugality of your military life. Your last days, passed in peace under the roof of your fathers, will crown, with the enjoyments of repose and security, a career of which activity and danger were the only charms."*

* An involuntary comparison of the different treatment of the retired soldiery in Britain and France has evidently here obtruded itself upon the author's mind; and there is, in truth, nothing in which the opposite character of the two states is more strikingly evinced. In France, while theatrical effect is studiously sought by the display of the splendid retreat of the

To close this chapter by giving a complete idea of the sacrifices at present made by the British government in favor of its land forces, we shall offer the following table:

Amount of Allowances, of Retirements, Reduction, &c. &c. for the year 1819.

	£.	s.	d.
Retirements upon full-pay	127,437	17	5
Half-pay of officers	737,372	6	2
Reduced and other allowances	32,788	11	6
Invalids of England (Chelsea)	42,849	8	9
Ditto of Ireland (Kilmainham)	15,681	13	11
Out-pensioners of Chelsea	977,582	8	0
Ditto ditto of Kilmainham	196,065	14	2
Widows' pensions (Great Britain)	88,268	0	0
Ditto ditto (Ireland)	19,542	2	2
Compassionate list	168,532	12	1
Adjutants of reduced militia	20,732	0	0
Retired allowances to persons in civil departments of the army	37,337	17	11
Retired allowances of the Ordnance department	38,984	2	6
Total	2,503,174	14	7

"Hôpital des Invalides," where not one worn-out soldier in a thousand can be accommodated, no provision is extended to the great majority of those who have passed their best years in the ranks. In England there is, indeed, no imposing grandeur in the invalid asylum itself, but the discharged soldier is to be found in every hamlet, in enjoyment of a pension proportioned to his length of service, and, therefore, generally to his incapacity for labor. It is gratifying to reflect, that the humblest of the British soldiery, who serves his country with honesty and fidelity, has the sure prospect of provision for the close of his life.—*Tr.*

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Medical Service in Peace and in War.

The medical service of the army was conducted, during the two last wars, by a supreme board, composed of the physician-general, the surgeon-general, and the inspector-general of hospitals. All offices of physicians and surgeons in the army were in the appointment of the medical board. After the year 1798, every one of its three members exercised certain limited functions, and enjoyed an exclusive patronage over one branch of nominations and promotions.

By virtue of the regulation of 1798, it belonged to the physician-general to nominate to offices and promotion for all the physicians of his department; he was to inspect the medicines furnished to the army by the apothecary-general, whose accounts he controlled jointly with the surgeon-general; finally, in whatever regarded medical science, he was to preside, including the examination of candidates proposing themselves for offices in the medical department of the army, and the military hospitals. The surgeon-general had the appointment and promotion of all the surgeons of his depart-

ment; the discretion, among those disposable, of placing them in the hospitals, camps, and military districts, according to the exigencies of the service; it was his business to demand, by way of requisition, of the inspector of hospitals, apothecaries, hospital assistants, &c.; and to examine and check the charges of the apothecary-general relative to surgery. By the same regulation, the inspector of hospitals was to appoint and promote the apothecaries, purveyors, and their deputies, assistants, nurses, and servants for the hospitals; to direct the transport of medical supplies to the army, as well as to the hospitals; and, lastly, in conjunction with the surgeon-general, to examine the claims of officers of the army relative to wounds and loss of limb.

This separation of the service, and of patronage, into three branches, rendered independent one of another by regulation, although in fact mutually dependent by the nature of things, could not fail to produce very great inconveniences. Thus, the surgeon-general had no right of presenting to promotion either the physicians of the army, or the inspectors, or purveyors, or apothecaries, or hospital-assistants; and yet he was responsible for the functions of all these officers, because it was he who had the disposal of them in the different posts of

service in the army. In the same manner the inspector-general of hospitals chose, under his responsibility for the service of those hospitals, surgeons and assistant-surgeons, who were named and promoted on other recommendation than his own. But a yet greater inconvenience was, that each of the three chiefs of departments, being master of a particular branch of the medical service, applied his efforts to increase the importance of the same, and to augment the number of officers under his orders to a greater extent than was requisite.

Lastly, on a number of occasions, where the different talents and acquirements of the three chiefs might have combined in the most advantageous manner upon complicated questions, each of them preferred deciding for himself in an imperfect and even faulty mode of judgment, rather than apply to his colleagues for their advice, lest he should be controlled by so doing.

The expenses of the medical board have kept pace with those of other banches of the British administration.

Comparative

Comparative Table of the Expenses of the Medical Board in 1799 and 1806.

1799.	£.	s.	d.	1806.	£.	s.	d.
Physician-general	730	0	0	Physician-general	730	0	0
Surgeon-general	730	0	0	Surgeon-general	730	0	0
Inspector of Hospitals	730	0	0	Inspector of Hospitals	730	0	0
Agent and Treasurer	669	6	3	Comptroller of Hospital Accounts	730	0	0
Contingent Expenses	556	5	0	Three Assistants	1,435	0	0
				Treasurer	670	0	0
				Contingent Expenses.	2,423	3	$3\frac{3}{4}$
TOTAL	3,415	11	3	TOTAL	7,448	3	$3\frac{3}{4}$

Since the peace, the English administration have been earnestly engaged in projects of economy; they have very much reduced the expense of all effective services, prodigiously diminished the numbers of troops, and suspended military works in a proportionate degree. But the public offices have resisted this torrent of reduction; they have heroically defended the integrity, or, at least, almost the whole value of their pay and emoluments. They have gone no farther than to abstain from filling up a few situations become vacant by natural death, or by a large retired allowance; and the greater part of the salary of the suppressed appointments has been, in most cases, shared among the remaining individuals in the office.

In 1799, the three directors-general of the medical department together cost £2,190. In 1819, two of those directorships had been suppressed from motives of economy; and yet the only one who remained of the three, was a charge to the state of £2,000 per annum: this head of the department was seconded by a deputy who received £1,200 a year; making £3,200 for two persons for a year of peace, in place of £2,190 for three individuals during war.

In proceeding to the general establishment of the medical department we find it, in 1807, thus composed:

Pay and Allowances (on Home Service.)

		£.	s.	d.
8	Inspectors of hospitals	7,556	16	0
18	Deputies of the same	11,354	6	0
17	Physicians	9,173	4	0
60	Staff surgeons	23,565	0	0
26	Surgeons of recruiting districts	4,745	0	0
16	Apothecaries	4,824	0	0
8	Purveyors	3,356	0	0
14	Deputies of the same	3,101	0	0
136	Hospital Assistants	18,432	0	0
303	Persons employed	86,107	6	0

A few observations will be necessary upon the different ranks of medical officers above enumerated. The inspectors of hospitals and their deputies were first created in 1758; the

former to visit and control the hospitals in Great Britain, the latter to remain stationary at important points, or accompany the march of armies in the field. Generally they are not attached to any hospital in particular.

Before the period of the military inquiry (1808), the physicians attached to the army were selected by the physician-general from among the bachelors and doctors of medicine of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It was, however, at length discovered that, in the practice of physic in the army, there were so many particular circumstances of professional knowledge requisite, as rendered it indispensable that officers destining themselves for that line, should long attend the troops and military hospitals, before they were raised to the important station of physician to the forces. Candidates for such appointments are, therefore, no longer sought exclusively from the civil profession of medicine, and a proper prospect of promotion is afforded to the medical officers of the army.

The purveyors were originally chosen from among the oldest and most meritorious officers of the medical department; this was then a species of promotion: at present, however, they are selected from such officers of the department as are most familiar with the details of accounts.

Of the Military Hospitals.

There were, during the war, general hospitals, as well as regimental ones for each corps. In 1794, shortly after the formation of the medical board, the plan was conceived of establishing, with the army of the Duke of York, serving in Flanders, a general hospital, directed by the physicians who were then, as already observed, chosen from the civil profession. All the wounded who needed a protracted cure were required to be passed from the regimental hospitals to this general one. The innovation was unfortunate, the mortality increased in very considerable proportion, and the expense of the medical service rose in the same ratio.

The ablest surgeons in the army* have, in their writings, united in bearing testimony, from experience, to the advantages resulting from regimental hospitals, and the increase of mortality arising from introduction of the system of general hospitals. In the former, the medical officers have a previous acquaintance with the habits and constitutions of their patients; they are attached to them by many ties

* Doctor Jackson, "Remarks on the Constitution of the Medical Department of the British Army:" Doctor M'Grigor, at present at the head of that department, &c. &c.—*Author.*

of service, and reciprocal duties; they have, moreover, a direct interest in maintaining the corps under their charge in the highest possible state of efficiency. In 1801, the East India Company caused an army of 8,000 men to pass from Bombay into Egypt, under orders of General Baird, with no other medical officers attached to the force, but those of regiments; on the arrival of these troops in Egypt, the only addition made to their medical staff was to give them a surgeon-in-chief and a storekeeper. But, a medical establishment composed of above twenty persons, with an immense supply of medicines, had, in the mean time, been sent out from England expressly for this corps. General Baird, in the name of the East India Company, refused to defray the expense of this establishment; all the officers belonging thereto were made over to the army from Europe also serving in Egypt, and the Indian army suffered no mortality by their absence. In general, the Company's armies, on taking the field, have only a surgeon-in-chief, with three or four assistants, and another officer in charge of the matériel, besides their regimental medical officers.

When a British army is on active service, it is, of course, attended by a surgeon and two assistants for each regiment; and there are be-

sides, a surgeon-in-chief for each brigade, a physician-in-chief for each division, with hospital assistants, &c. &c. On the day of battle, the regimental surgeon, and one of his assistants, follow the corps to the field to apply the first bandages to the wounded, and superintend their removal. The second assistant is at the field-hospital, in the vicinity, under orders of the surgeon-in-chief of the brigade; and, lastly, the physicians and inspectors of hospitals remain at a central point, from whence all the field-hospitals diverge.

In Spain, the service of field-hospitals in the English army was not as perfect as that of the French.—The waggons employed for the transport of sick or convalescent were too heavy; they carried too small a number of men at a time;* and thus, when used in the field of battle, they left the wounded a considerable time on the ground, before they could remove them.

Until the close of 1796, the surgeon of each regiment, seconded by an assistant, received a sum proportioned to the strength of the corps, on condition of furnishing all the necessary medicines, but it was then determined that these medicines should be provided, instead, by the apothecary-general; that hospital allow-

* Each waggon (I was informed by an inspector of hospitals) drawn by four horses, could carry only four wounded.—*Author.*

ances and all contingent expenses should be paid, as such, by the public: and that, at the same time, the pay of surgeons should be augmented, evidently for the purpose of indemnifying them for the emoluments which they lost by the changes.—Their assistants were also raised to the rank of commissioned officers, under the title of assistant-surgeons. On the renewal of hostilities, in 1803, a second assistant-surgeon was appointed to all battalions of more than 500 men; but, since the peace, this second assistant-surgeon has been again discontinued.

By a regulation of 1798, the surgeon was created director of the hospital of the regiment to which he belonged; the stoppage of pay from the sick received into such hospital was fixed at nine-pence per diem for each man, (a sum afterwards raised to ten-pence); and the disposal of this stoppage entrusted to the surgeon for procuring reasonable comforts and indulgences for the sick. The surgeon was required to keep a regular account of his expenses, which was to be examined and signed weekly by the commanding-officer and paymaster of the corps: the surgeon was further directed to render an account, every six months, to the inspector of hospitals, of medicines expended, and remaining in hand.

The regimental surgeons are thus made at once medical officers, contractors and managers of expenditure; and it might be feared that, in this triple quality, without a continued and rigid control on the part of the commanding-officer and paymaster, and, above all, without a frequent inspection at uncertain intervals by superior authority, this accumulation of functions would unavoidably encourage abuses, the effect of which might be frightful for the sick.—It appears, however, that experience has not realised these apprehensions.—The honor of their calling, so powerful in the learned professions, serves as a more efficacious control to the surgeons, than such occasional inspections as are made to check the operations of common contractors; of men, who, in the provision of supplies to an hospital, would see only an occasion of making money, with utter indifference to the preservation or loss of character.

General Hospitals.

The creation of general hospitals presents three different epochs; the first being that of the commencement of the French republic, the second the period of the expedition to Holland, and the third that of the war against the French empire. We shall confine ourselves to a state-

ment of the establishment of the only two hospitals which have been preserved upon the footing of 1807.

*Depôt at the Isle of Wight.**

	Pay of each, per Diem. s. d.		Pay of each, per Diem. s. d.
1 Inspector of Hospitals, in command of this Hospital	40 0	1 Steward	1 0
1 Physician	20 0	2 Attendants in the Wards	0 6
1 Surgeon	15 0	2 Attendants on the Surgeons	0 6
1 Deputy Purveyor	10 0	2 Sempstresses	1 0
3 Assistant-Surgeons	7 6	2 Cooks	0 9
3 Hospital-Assistants	6 6	4 Washerwomen	1 0
1 Clerk	3 0	1 Man to assist them	0 3
1 Matron	2 6	4 Nurses	0 9
1 Military Superintendant	0 0	19 Orderlies	0 3

*York-Hospital, Chelsea,**

1 Staff Surgeon, principal medical officer of the Hospital	20 0	1 Assistant	3 0
1 Physician	20 0	1 Matron	2 6
1 Surgeon	15 0	1 Steward	2 0
1 Apothecary	10 0	1 Chief Nurse	1 0
1 Deputy-Purveyor	10 0	1 Sempstress	1 0
1 Resident Hospital-Assistant	7 6	1 Porter	1 0
3 Hospital-Assistants	6 6	1 Attendant in the Wards	1 $1\frac{1}{2}$
1 Clerk	3 0	1 Barber	0 8
1 Packer	5 0	1 Cook	0 9
		1 Orderly Messenger	0 8
		5 Nurses	0 9
		1 Orderly	0 3

* At both these hospitals the servants are soldiers, those at the Isle of Wight from the service generally, and the others at York Hospital chosen from among the out-pensioners of Chelsea.—*Author.*

In 1819 I visited the medical establishment at Chatham, to which the depôt, lately existing at the Isle of Wight, had been removed: this depôt is placed in Fort Pitt; and to it all soldiers about to be discharged are sent, before their final release from the service.—If their infirmities are not declared incurable, they are retained at the hospital, and treated with the most enlightened care; for the British government never discard a non-commissioned officer or soldier under the affliction of any disease, for which human art can afford relief or remedy.—This conduct is worthy of every eulogium, and reflects shame upon governments who disband the corps of their armies in the aggregate, without bestowing a care or a thought upon the means of restoring strength or health to those who have sacrificed one, or both, in the service of an ungrateful country.

The depôt hospital at Chatham can contain about 500 men; and since the peace above 6000 have, upon an average, been annually received into the establishment. The wards are kept in a state of the greatest cleanliness, and, in passing through the spacious and well-ordered rooms, you breathe the purest air, and are not at all annoyed by any unpleasant odour whatever.—It should be observed, however, that the air of Fort Pitt, which is excellent for per-

sons of vigorous constitution, appears to be too piercing for invalids.

Doctor Forbes, the present director of the hospital, had, since he took charge of it, formed a cabinet of anatomy, &c. which, although it had only been two years in collecting, already contained many objects of great interest for professional men.—All the preparations of injections, and other materials for this cabinet, had been made by the surgeons attached to the establishment.

The military hospital for lunatics is placed very near the general hospital, in Fort Clarence, under the charge of a separate medical officer. The extensive casemates of this fort are fitted up for the patients, and heated by steam to a proper temperature during the cold season.

The ordnance department has its own medical establishment, independent of that of the army, and directed by an inspector-general.—Woolwich is the medical depôt for the troops of the ordnance, and the place of examination for the discharged soldiery of that force. I visited a regimental hospital of the ordnance at Chatham, which was remarkable for its excellent arrangements.

The hospitals of which we have hitherto spoken belong to the national troops; but there were during the war, at Ealing and at Lyming-

ton, a depôt and a hospital for invalids, and sick of the foreign corps, with medical officers of the same nation as the patients, and speaking their language, as well as familiar with their disorders.

Apothecary-General.

Who would believe that, by a warrant of George the Second (dated 1747), an apothecary was created perpetual furnisher, with remainder to his heirs, of all the medicines necessary for the general service of the land forces of Great Britain! The consequence of such a monopoly is, that the government pays at a higher rate for bad medicines than that at which they might procure others of superior quality by a fair competition. From 1795 to 1806 inclusively, the supply of these articles cost as much as £809,089; and no previous examination of the quantity or quality of the drugs was ever made.*—For want of this preliminary examination, the medicines sent out to corps serving in climates essentially different, were not at all assorted with a view to the particular disorders to which the soldier might be chiefly liable in each country. The most indispensable articles were often thus supplied in very small quantities, while others,

* Fifth Report Military Inquiry, pp. 41 and 219.

which were perfectly useless, came out in superabundance.

I shall not here follow the commissioners of military inquiry, through their enumeration of the immense losses suffered by the public service, in consequence of a monopoly so contrary to the interests of an enlightened government, and the existence of which it seems so difficult to imagine in a country like Great Britain.—I have deemed it, however, highly necessary to show, at least in abridgment, the pernicious effects of every privilege granted in making the necessary supplies for the state.

The ordnance department have no perpetual contractor for providing medicines to the engineer and artillery services: the natural result was, that they paid, in 1805, sixty per cent. less than the line for their drugs.

Beds and hospital utensils were procured with so little regard to economy at the commencement of the last war, that there were at one time in store a sufficient supply for eighty thousand sick.

Since the period of the military inquiry, to whose exertions it is owing that so much prodigality and malversation were exposed, the regularity of the service and accounts of the medical departments has been very considerably increased.—That department is at present un-

der the direction of Doctor M'Grigor, an old medical officer, who went through most of the campaigns of the two last wars, and has acquired high reputation by his services.

END OF VOL. I.

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